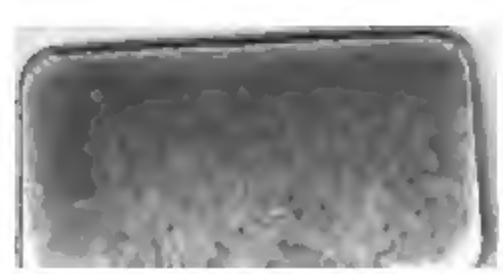

Alfred Cunnington
Letter Foundry Sculp 1839

GLEANINGS

OF

A FEW SCATTERED EARS,

DURING THE

Period of the Reformation in England

AND OF

THE TIMES IMMEDIATELY SUCCEEDING;

A.D. 1533 TO A.D. 1588:

COMPREHENDING

I. ENGRAVINGS OF ELEVEN SEALS OF CRANMER, PARKHURST, AND JEWEL.

II. LETTERS, &c. (FOR A GREAT PART HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED) OF MARTYR, BISHOP PARKHURST, SANDYS, &c.

BY THE LATE

GEORGE CORNELIUS GORHAM, B.D.,

VICAR OF BRAMPFORD-SPEKE, DEVON.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE first idea of the present collection occurred to its compiler in 1848, when he was engaged in an examination of a manuscript of Bishop Parkhurst in the University Library, and of numerous unpublished letters of Martyr, Bucer, Calvin, à Lasco, and others, in Archbishop Parker's noble collection at Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge. Bishop Parkhurst's MS. was (by the generous permission of the Senate) taken out of the Library for some months, and subjected to careful examination. Many letters of great interest, which are only *generally* noticed by Strype, were extracted from it, and are here presented to the reader.

The Volume was nearly ready for press a year ago, in November, 1856, when it pleased God that a serious and most painful illness should arrest all further efforts at its improvement. But the Editor was unwilling that his collections should be lost to those who take an interest in the Theological Literature of the sixteenth century; and by the advice of his friends, and in reliance on their aid, he urged the work through the printer's hands. To watch its progress, and to correct and amend it as it proceeded, was mercifully permitted to form an occupation of never-failing interest in the intervals of extreme suffering during the weary months of his protracted malady. Every portion of the work which in any way depended on his

own energy, was most carefully completed. It was in very truth his *labor ultimus,* and his hand was engaged upon it on the day preceding his dismissal to rest. He was himself gathered by the reapers from amidst his "Gleanings," as a shock of corn cometh in in his season.

Considerable time has elapsed while we have been completing the little that remained to be done—the few ears which it was denied him to see gathered up. This has arisen partly from very pressing occupations of other kinds, partly from anxiety to perform our task aright, partly from the disadvantage at which we work from want of that intimacy with the materials which he possessed. It has been our care to complete the Volume, so far as we were able, precisely as its original Editor would have desired to see it published. We have found it an honor and a joy to be associated in this office of filial affection and of longstanding and warm friendship.

G. M. GORHAM.
C. S. BIRD.

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30, line 3, *for* June, 1545, *read* June 23, 1545.
52, line 21, *for* Dryander, Thomas, *read* Dryander, Francis.
84, line 3 from bottom, *for* septennary, *read* Septenary.
89, line 3, notes, *for* xi., *read* ii.
89, line 9, notes, *for* 1557, *read* 1552 and 1557.
104, note ([l]), *omit* "
133, line 17, *for* for the Baptism, *read* with the Baptism.
138, line 8, *for* there, *read* there?
163, line 4, *for* Printed, *read* Latin: printed.
171, line 4, note, *for* implicata, *read* implicita.
172, line 7, notes, *for* exciperere, *read* excipere.
177, note ([k]), *for* Commitia, *read* Comitia.
196, line 14, *add the signature* [PETER MARTYR.]
220, note ([y]), *for* Anglica, read Anglicana.
350, line 13, *for* receive, *read* adore, *and dele note* ([r]).
356, at end of line 17, *insert a full stop*.
359, line 3 from bottom, *dele* so.
431, line 11, *dele* * Now first published.
431, line 12, *omit* Now first published, *and insert* Printed in Parker Society's edition of Whitgift, vol. iii., p. 624, London, 1853.
493, line 6, *insert* *

Reformation Gleanings,

ETC.

I.

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER'S SEALS. 1533 TO 1538.

NONE of the seals of our first Protestant Archbishop have hitherto (as far as the Editor of the present volume is aware) received any attention from our antiquarian writers. In truth, they are all of considerable scarceness; some of them of extreme rarity; while others exist only in very small fragments, the relation of which to each other, and their identity as portions of the complete seal to which they belong, have not been ascertained without difficulty. After patient investigation, however, the whole series of the Archbishop's seals (—six official, and one private—) have been completely restored: four of them, indeed, still exist in an all but perfect state, though perhaps no more than a single entire impression of each has escaped the ravages of time. The labour of this research has been amply repaid by the incidental illustration which these seals throw on the progress of the Reformation. The result is one which (besides gratifying the innocent curiosity of those who take pleasure in such researches) shows the pious resolution of the martyred Prelate to abolish the artistic devices of Popish superstition, which had prevailed in medieval times up to his own day, and to replace them by scriptural emblems. It may be very true, in general, that it is a matter of trivial importance *what* particular design an Archbishop may have selected for his Official Seal; *his best* SEALS, as Cranmer himself has intimated, *are the Christian conversation of the*

people;[a] nevertheless, during a period of violent conflict in religious opinion even these subordinate points serve to indicate very decisively the character of mind and of principle. Let the reader judge for himself how far this remark is sustained by some of the examples which follow.

[I.] CRANMER'S ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEALS.

Of these there are two types, agreeing with each other exactly as regards the legend and the tabernacled framework, or border, but totally distinct as to the subject which occupies the central compartment, or principal field of the seal.

i. EARLIEST ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEAL.

Large, oval, 4 by 2½ inches. Legend:—SIGILLV̄ :·: THOME :·: CRANMER :·: DEI :·: GRA :·: CANTVARIEN :·: ARCHIEPI :·:

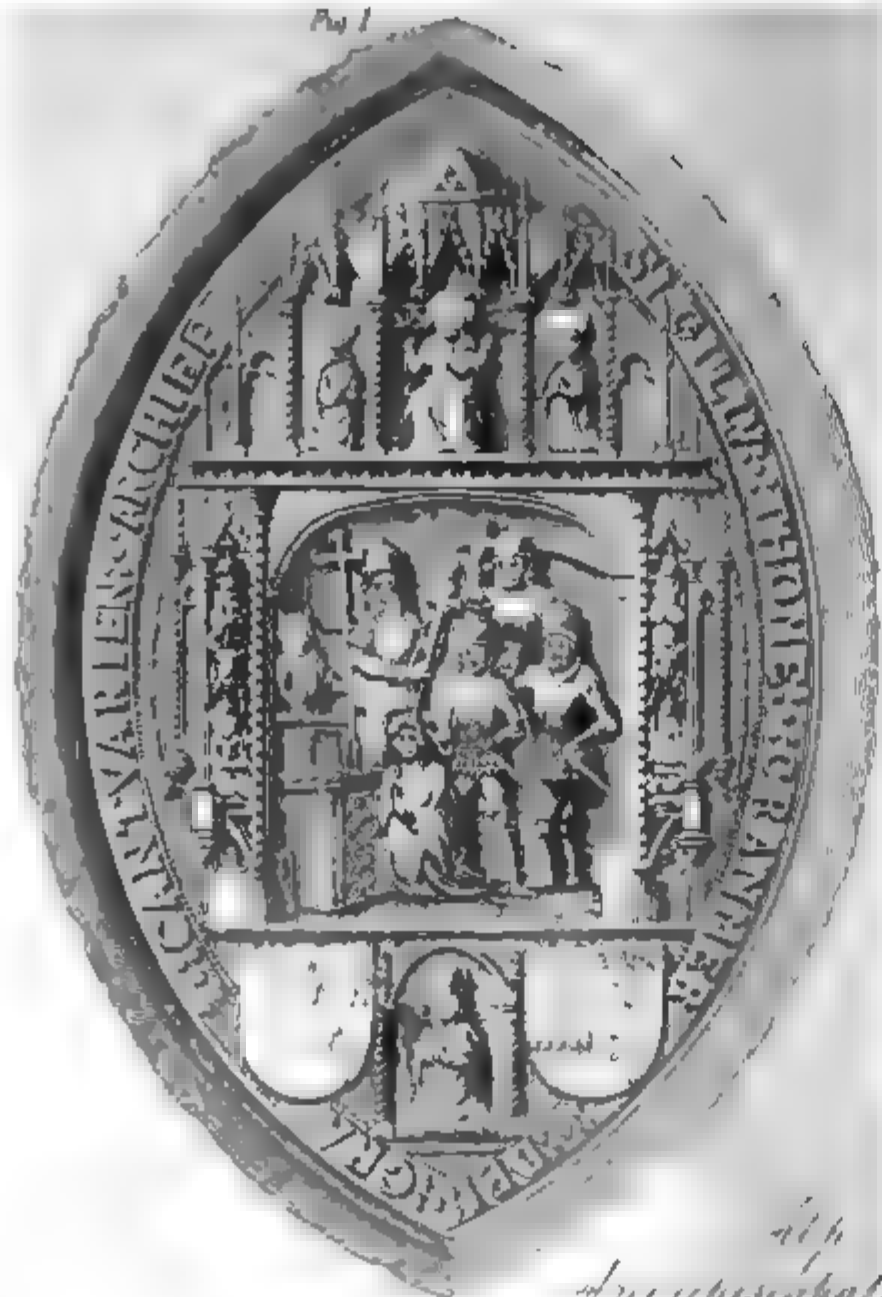
The central compartment represents *the Martyrdom of Saint Thomas à Becket.*

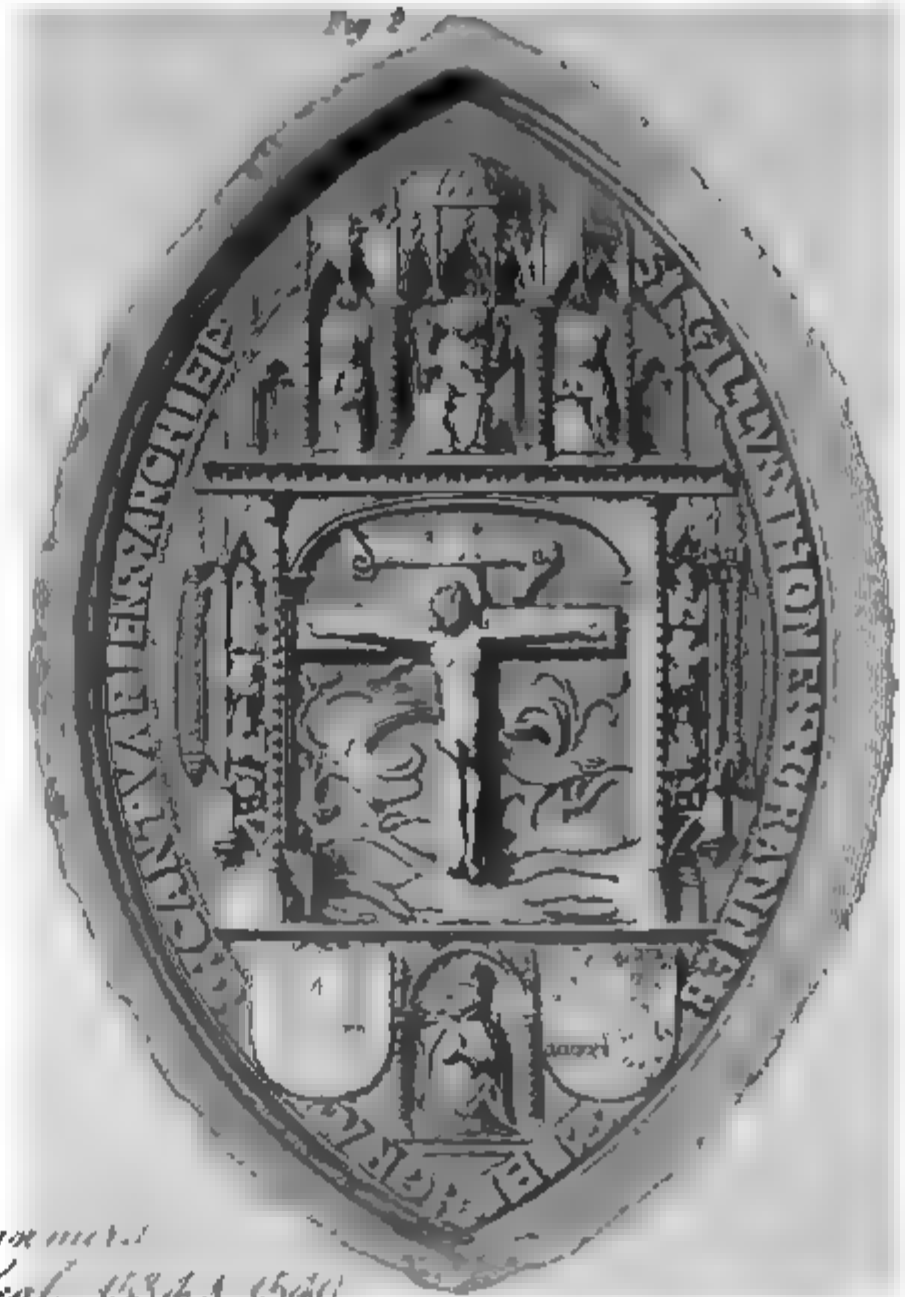
Above, under a treble-arched tabernacle, is a figure seated, with uplifted hands, as in the act of benediction; on each side of which, under a double arched tabernacle, is a Saint praying.

Below, in the central crypt, is an Archbishop (or Bishop), with his hands clasped in prayer. On each side of the crypt is an escutcheon. On the dexter escutcheon, the arms of the See of *Canterbury,* impaling a Chevron between three Cranes (*Cranmer*). On the sinister escutcheon, quarterly: 1st, a

[a] "I pray God never be merciful unto me at the general judgement, if I perceive in my heart that I set more by any title, name, or style that I write, than I do by the paring of an apple, farther than it shall be to the setting forth of God's word and will. . . . . I would that I, and all my brethren the bishops, would have all our styles, and write the style of our offices, calling ourselves *apostolos Jesu Christi:* so that we took not upon us the name vainly, but were so even indeed; so that we might order our diocese in such sort, that neither *paper, parchment, lead,* nor *wax, but the very Christian conversation of the people might be the letters and* SEALS *of our offices,* as the Corinthians were unto Paul, to whom he said: *Literæ nostrae et signa apostolatûs nostri vos estis.*" (Cranmer's letter to Crumwell, May 12, 1535, Works, edit. Parker Soc., 1846, II. 305.)

PLATE I.





Abp Cranmer's Archiepiscopal Seal 1534 & 1540

J. Stephens Sculp.

Chevron between three Cranes (*Cranmer*); 2d, six Lionceaux, 3, 2, 1; 3d, five Fusils, each charged with an Escalop (*Aslacton*, Cranmer's greatgrandmother); 4th, as the first (*Cranmer*).

On each side of the central compartment, under a lofty single-arched canopy, are two figures, one above the other, apparently praying.

Of this Seal, two impressions remain:—

1. A considerable fragment, in the Chapter House, Westminster. To a Deed of Renunciation of the Supremacy of the Pope, February 10, 1534 (1534-5).

2. A large fragment, among the muniments of Canterbury Cathedral; the date and purport of which are unknown to the Editor, it having come under his observation only through a cast by Mr. Reedy.[b]

There can be no doubt that this was the first Archiepiscopal Seal made for the Archbishop on his Consecration, March 30, 1533. It was replaced, in 1538, by the Seal which follows.

ii. LATER ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEAL.

Large, oval, 4 by 2½ inches. Legend:—SIGILLV̄ :·: THOME :·: CRANMER :·: DEI :·: GRA :·: CANTVARIEN :·: ARCHIEPI :·:

This Seal is in every respect (with the exceptions to be mentioned) the same as the earlier Archiepiscopal Seal (No. i.) just described, being, in fact, *the identical matrix* of that seal, portions of which have been cut out, and plugged, to admit the following alterations.

Below, the dexter escutcheon has been thus changed: the arms of the See of *Canterbury;* impaling[c] on a Cross an ɤ and an ſ.

[b] Another cast by Mr. Reedy, professing to be a perfect Seal, has been made up, by some ingenious person, very beautifully, from this fragment and from the Seal, No. ii., which will be next described:—but he has produced (though doubtless unintentionally) *a spurious Seal.* The person who modelled the artificial matrix for this cast, too hastily took for granted that the (deficient) escutcheon on the dexter side of the crypt, was *the same* as the corresponding (existing) escutcheon in the Seal No. ii.; whereas it was *different*, as appears from the fragment of No. i. in the Chapter House, described above.

[c] Archbishop Parker, also, impaled this Coat with the See of Canterbury.

The central compartment has been cut out, and *the Crucifixion* introduced, in the place of the Martyrdom of Becket.

Of this Seal two impressions have occurred :—

1. A perfect Seal, in the British Museum, Cotton Charters, x. 13. It is appended (together with a fragment of the Seal of Edward Lee, Archbishop of York,) to the Convocation Deed for the divorce of Henry VIII. from Anne of Cleves, July 9, 1540: this deed is printed by Burnet, "Hist. Reform.," Vol. I., Part ii., No. xix., p. 303, edit. 8vo., Oxford, 1816. (See also, Vol. I., Part i., p. 510.)

2. A fragment, in possession of Miss Ffarington, of Worden, near Leyland, in the parish of Preston, Lancashire. It hangs to a lease of the Rectory and Parsonage of Blackburn, to John Cumberland and Robert Billet, with Cranmer's autograph signature above it; dated July 20, 2 Edward VI. (1548).[d]

The alteration of the Archbishop's Seal, which this type exhibits, *by the extermination of the favourite device of Becket's Martyrdom,* and the substitution of the Crucifixion, is very remarkable. It doubtless took place immediately after the issuing of the Royal Proclamation,[e] November 16, 1538, by which it was ordered "that henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, nor called a Saint, but 'Bishop Becket,' and that his images and pictures throughout the whole realm shall be put down and avoided out of all churches and chapels, and other places; and that from henceforth the days used to be festivals in his name, shall not be observed — nor the service, office, antiphonies, collects, and prayers in his name read, but rased and put out of all books."

In pursuance of this order, the arms of the Cathedral and of the City of Canterbury were changed, the Martyrdom of Becket being exterminated, and replaced by other devices.

The Archbishop's own Seal would, of course, undergo a similar change. The "*Martyrdom*" had been adopted on the Seals or Counterseals of (probably) every Primate from the death of Becket to the Consecration of Cranmer. It has been seen, by the writer of this account, on the Seals of Archbishops Hubert

[d] This Rectory was resold by John Cumberland and Robert Billet to Sir Thomas Talbot, of Burhall; who left it by will, 1557, to his daughter Ann, wife of William Ffarington, Esq., of Worden, in whose family it still remains.

[e] See Wilkins' Concilia, iii. 848.

(1193), Weathershed (1229), Boniface (1245), Kilwarby (1273), Peckham (1279), Reynolds (1313), Stratford (1333), Bradwardine (1349), Islip (1349), Sudbury (1375), Arundel (1396), Wareham (1503), and Cranmer (1533). The superstitious and idolatrous reverence for the Canterbury Saint, which some of the legends on these Archiepiscopal Seals record, is very revolting to every Protestant mind. Thus, we have on Archbishop Hubert's[f] Counterseal (1193), ✠ MARTIR QVOD STILLAT PRIMATIS AB ORE SIGILLAT (*The Martyr seals what distils from the mouth of the Primate*). And on Archbishop Boniface's Counterseal (1245), ✠ TRINE DEVS PRO ME MOVEAT TE PASSIO THOME (*Triune God, let the Passion of Thomas move Thee for me*). And on the Counterseal of Archbishop Kilwarby (1273), and on the Seal of Archbishop Reynolds[g] (1313), ✠ AD CHRISTVM PRO ME SIT SEMPER PASSIO THOME (*Ever to Christ, for me, let the Passion of Thomas be*). Cranmer, however, as soon as the light of the Reformation had dawned upon him, discontinued this unscriptural substitution of the merit of the Canterbury Saint for that of the Divine Saviour; and, after 1538, *Becket's Martyrdom* was no longer to be seen on any one of the Archbishop's Seals. Fifteen years later, however, on the re-establishment of Popery, the favourite subject was re-introduced, in 1553, on the Seal of Cardinal Pole.[h] In 1560 it was again discontinued by Archbishop Parker, and it was replaced by a Scriptural subject.[i]

[II.] CRANMER'S PREROGATIVE SEALS.

Of these, also, (as of the Archiepiscopal Seals,) there are two types, agreeing with each other exactly, as regards the legend,

[f] It is preserved in the British Museum Chart, Harl., 84. C. 42.

[g] Archbishop Reynolds' Seal was engraved in 1845, in the Volume of Translations of the Archæological Association at Winchester: the same wood block was used in the "Archæological Journal" of the British Association, Vol. x., Part i., 1854.

[h] A fine impression of a large fragment of the Seal of Cardinal Pole, was communicated to me in 1855, by Albert Way, Esq., President of the Archæological Institute.

[i] Parker's beautiful Archiepiscopal Seal will be described, with an engraving, in a later portion of this volume.

the tabernacle framework, and the escutcheon of arms; but totally distinct as to the subject which occupies the central compartment, or principal field of the Seal.

i. EARLIEST PREROGATIVE SEAL.

Large, oval, $3\frac{7}{8}$ by $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Legend:—✠ SIGILLV · PREROGATIVE · THOME · CRANEMER · DEI · GRACIA · CANTVARIEN · ARCHIEPI ·

The central compartment represents, under a rich tabernacled canopy, *the Martyrdom of Saint Thomas à Becket;* but of a more beautiful design, and more delicately cut, than in the Archiepiscopal Seal, [I.] i., already described.

Above, under the central turret, is the Virgin and Child.

Below, is a large escutcheon, exhibiting four coats, rather anomalously marshalled; successively impaled, as follows: 1st, the See of *Canterbury;* 2d, a Chevron between three Cranes (*Cranemer*); 3d, five Fusils, each charged with an Escalop (*Aslacton*); 4th, six Lionceaux, 3, 2, 1. No portion of this escutcheon appears, indeed, upon any known impression; but it may be restored, without reasonable doubt, from the Seal which will be next described, [II.] ii., and which is on the same matrix.

Of this Seal, two imperfect impressions remain:—

1. A very small fragment, but very sharp and fine, exhibiting a portion only of the central compartment. The legend quite gone. It was annexed to letters of Administration to Henry Jeffreys of Holme Castle, Diocese of Hereford, dated April 21, 1534; from which it has been cut off. It was lately in possession of Dr. Prattinton, of Worcester. It now belongs to Mr. Edward Baugh, of Wribbenhall, in the same county. It was communicated to me by G. E. Roberts, Esq., of Shrubbery Cottage, Kidderminster.

2. A larger fragment, exhibiting the whole of the central compartment, part of the tabernacled-frame, and a portion of the legend, *Sigillv* · PREROGATIVE · THO*me* · *Cranemer* · *Dei* · *gra*CIA · CANTVARIEN · ARC*hiepi* · It is preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster: being appended to letters of

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Diameter Natural size
Scale 1.5.1.4 & 1.5.1.5

J. Clayton Sculp.

Administration granted to Sir Edward Semer, son of Sir John Semer deceased, dated London, January 5, 1535 (1535-6).

ii. LATER PREROGATIVE SEAL.

Large, oval, 3⅞ by 2⅝ inches. Legend:—✠ SIGILLV · PREROGATIVE · THOME · CRANEMER · DEI · GRACIA · CANTVARIEN · ARCHIEPI ·

This Seal is in every respect (—with the exception to be immediately noticed—) the same as the earlier Prerogative Seal (No. i.) just described; being, in fact, *the identical matrix* of that Seal.

The central compartment has been cut out, and plugged, to admit (in the place of the Martyrdom of Becket) *the Scourging of Christ.*

Below, is a large escutcheon of arms, with four impalements: 1st, the See of *Canterbury;* 2d, a Chevron between three Cranes (*Cranemer*); 3d, five Fusils, each charged with an Escalop (*Aslacton*); 4th, six Lionceaux, 3, 2, 1.

Of this Seal, the following impressions remain:

1. A small fragment, on red wax, showing merely the legs of the three figures; also part of the legend, *Sigillv* · *Prerogative* · *Thome* · CRANEMER · DEI · *gracia* · *Cantvarien* · *Archiepi* · It is preserved in the British Museum, Harleian Charters, 43. G. 42. It hangs to a grant of letters of Administration to Richard Wasshyngton, Esq., for the goods of his wife, Jane Wasshyngton, late Rowlands deceased, January 23, 1538 (1538-9), "nostræ Consecrationis anno 7°."

2. A small fragment on red wax, legend gone. In the British Museum, Harleian Charters, 43. G. 39. Annexed to letters of Administration to Richard Wasshyngton, of the City of London, Esq., for the goods of Humfrey Rowlands, of the City of London, deceased; dated May 16, 1539; "nostræ Consecrationis anno 7°."

3. A small fragment on red wax, legend gone. In the British Museum, Harleian Charters, 43. G. 41. Probate of the will of John Clopton, of Long Melford, in the Diocese of Norwich; administration granted to his widow, Elizabeth; dated November 5, 1541.

4. Perfect Seal, except part of the legend. ✠ SIGILLV̄ · PREROGATIVE · THOME · CR*an*EM*er* · *Dei* · *gracia* · *Cant-varie*N · ARCHIEPI · It is preserved among the Evidences of the Duke of Buccleugh, Montagu House, Privy Gardens, Westminster, Pyx xxvii., No. 67. Annexed to the Probate of the Will of Jeffrey Radcliff, of Wolston, Leicestershire, dated October 5, 1544.

[III.] CRANMER'S FACULTY SEALS.

There are two distinct types, also, of the Archbishop's Faculty Seal; but the change has not been of the same kind as that which took place in the Archiepiscopal and the Prerogative Seals —a new matrix, and an altogether different form, having been adopted.

i. EARLIEST FACULTY SEAL.

Large, oval, 3¾ by 2¼ inches. Legend:—**Sigillum : Thome : Cranmer ·:· dei : gra : cantuarien : archiepi :**

In the central compartment, under a three-arched tabernacle, is a representation of what was usually called "*the Majesty;*" that is, of *the Trinity*. The Father, seated, supports in His hands at its extremities the transverse-beam of the cross, on which is suspended the Son: no representation of the Holy Spirit is discernible; but it was perhaps implied (agreeably to medieval fancy) in the symbolical triangle formed by the extended arms of the Saviour and the transverse-beam of the cross. Under each of the two adjacent tabernacles is a Bishop, holding a pastoral staff, in the act of benediction.

Above, under a turret-tabernacle, is the Virgin and Child.

Below, in a crypt, is an Archbishop holding a pastoral staff, praying. On either side the crypt is an escutcheon. On the dexter shield: the See of *Canterbury;* impaling a Chevron between three birds (*Cranmer*). On the sinister shield: five Fusils, each charged with an Escalop (*Aslacton*); impaling six Lionceaux, 3, 2, 1.

Of this Seal, I am acquainted with only two impressions.

[illegible]

[illegible] MY SELF.

[illegible]

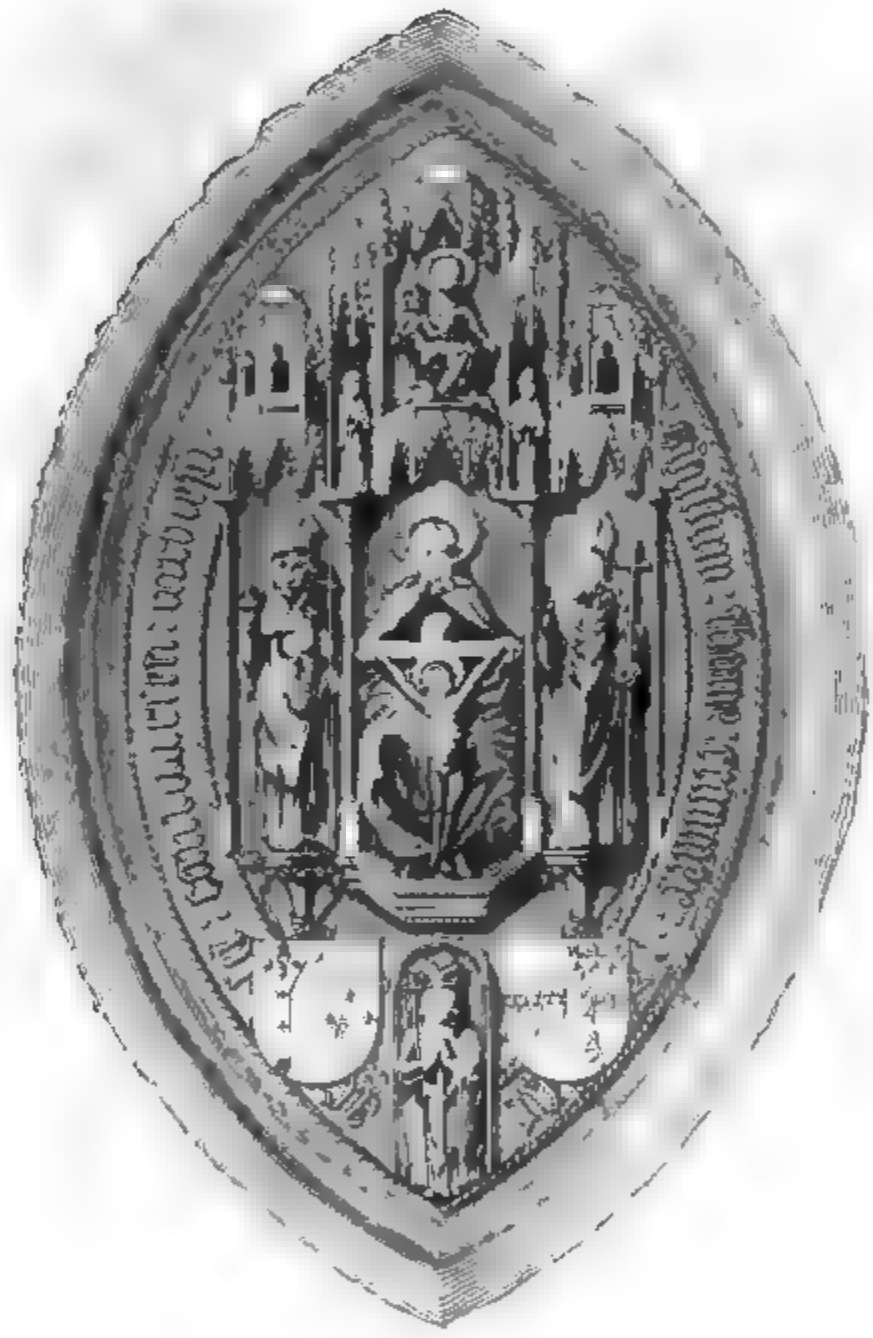
[illegible]

[illegible] Sighs [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Virgin and Child [illegible]

[illegible] impression [illegible]



[illegible]
[illegible]

1. Fragment, imperfect at the top. In the British Museum, Sloane Charters, xxxii. 1. It is annexed to a marriage licence for Edward Griffith, of Braybrook, Lincolnshire, and Elizabeth Palmer, dated "in manerio nostro de Lamehith, 27° die Septembris, anno 1535, nostræ Consecrationis, anno 3°." It is described simply as "Sigillum nostrum."

2. A nearly perfect seal, said (in Doubleday's MS. Catalogue) to be in the Chapter House, Westminster, but which I have not been able to find there now (1856). The Editor possesses a cast by the late Mr. Doubleday; but from what instrument, and of what date, he has not ascertained.

It is very remarkable that this Seal is from *the identical matrix* used by Cranmer's predecessor, Archbishop Wareham, (an impression of which still remains in the Chapter House, Westminster, to a Deed dated July 1, 1529), which Cranmer in 1533 appropriated to his own use for his Faculty Deeds, with the following slight alterations. (1). The name, *Wareham,* has been cut out, the matrix plugged, and the name *Cranmer* substituted. The sinister shield, (which exhibited Wareham's family coat,) has also been cut out, and replaced by that of *Aslacton,* Cranmer's maternal ancestor. (2.) The dexter shield has been retained; either because the impalement, a Chevron between three Birds, (introduced by Wareham, for what reason does not appear,[k]) accidentally coincided with the arms then possibly in use by Cranmer's family; or, which is more probable, because the Archbishop considered the Birds as appropriate to his own name (*Crane-mer*[l]), and therefore then first adopted those arms

[k] This bearing, (*a Chevron between three Birds,*) was certainly not the family coat of WAREHAM, though he impaled it with his See. (See his Seal, in the Chapter House, Westminster, Drawer I., Box 32; also to an Instrument on Hen. VIII.'s scruples with regard to his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, 1 July, 1529.) The origin of this achievement is very uncertain.

[l] Archbishop Cranmer adopted (at least for a time), this spelling of his name, in his earliest Prerogative Seal, described above [II.] i.; giving at the same period, a more decisive character to the three Birds, as *Cranes.* At a later period, about 1540, he obtained a grant for changing them into *Pelicans,* as will be noticed in the account of his private Seal. It is true that the *three Cranes* appear as early as 1503, on the monument in Whatton Church of Thomas Cranmer, who died in that year; but that monument may have been erected by Cranmer himself, or by some of his family at a later period. It is certain that

for his family bearing. The writer is not aware of any other instance of an Archbishop, or Bishop, using the matrix of the Seal of his predecessor.

ii. LATER FACULTY SEAL.

This fine double Seal, (an engraving of which, on steel by Le Keux, appears as the Frontispiece to the present Volume,) is round, 2½ inches diameter. It was probably made at the same time that the change took place in the Archiepiscopal and Prerogative Seals; namely, in 1538. The reason for an alteration was, possibly, the Archbishop's objection to the medieval representation of the Divine Majesty, which had been selected by his predecessor, the matrix of whose Seal he had hitherto used in his Faculty Office.

The obverse of the Seal has the legend—: ✠ : SIGILLVM :·: THOME :·: CĀTVARIEN :·: ARCHIEPISCOPI :·: ADFACVLTATES · It represents *the brazen Serpent* in the wilderness, twined round a cruciform pole, the bark of which seems to be intended to show the imbrications of the palm-tree. Two smaller serpents are darting at the lower part of the pole. On the dexter side, Moses holds the tables of the law in his left hand; with his right hand he points to the head of the Serpent; his face is turned towards Aaron, clad in his priestly garments, to whom he is explaining the meaning of the symbol. On the sinister side, two wounded Israelites look up anxiously to the Serpent. At the foot of the pole, lies a dying Israelite. Below, is an escutcheon: the See of *Canterbury;* impaling two coats, arranged one below the other; that in chief, six Lionceaux, 3, 2, 1; that in base, a Chevron between three Cranes (*Cranmer*).

The Reverse, or COUNTERSEAL, has the legend—HEC · Ē · VITA · ETERNA · VT · TE · COGNOSCANT · VERV̄ · DEV̄ · ET · EV̄ · QVEM · MISISTI · IH̄M · CRĪSM :·: It represents the Antitype of the Seal, namely, *the Crucifixion,* and on the scroll above the transverse beam, INRI. On the

the Cranmer family's title to arms, was not recognized *even so late as* 1530; for none are registered in Tonge's Visitation, held in that year. It is probable, therefore, that they were first assumed when Cranmer was promoted to the See of Canterbury, in 1533.

dexter side, two Roman soldiers bear, respectively, a spear (the *hasta pura*), and a triple-headed spear. On the sinister side, two other Roman soldiers bear, respectively, a sponge on a pole, and a halberd. At the foot of the Cross, two common soldiers, kneeling on the ground, are casting lots for the vesture.

Of this noble Seal, three impressions have come under the Editor's notice.

1. The earliest, is a very mutilated Seal, in the Archives of the Dean and Chapter of Exeter. The legend is nearly gone. Obverse: *Sigillvm Thome Cātvarien Archiepiscopi adf*ACVLTATES. Reverse: HEC · Ē · VITA · ET*erna* · *vt* · *te* · *cognoscant* · *verv̄* · *Dev̄* · *et* · *ev̄* · *quem* · *misisti* · *Ihm* · *Crism.* It is appended to a Faculty to release Thomas Pope, late Abbot of Hartland, from his monastic vows, and to enable him to take a benefice as a secular Priest; dated April 21st, 1539. This Deed is printed in Oliver's Monasticon Devoniense, p. 216.

2. Nearly perfect, and a fine, sharp impression, in the Chapter House, Westminster. Obverse: ✠ SIGILLVM THOME CĀTVARIEN ARCHIE*piscopi adfac*VLTATES. Reverse: HEC Ē VIT*a eterna vt te cogno*SCANT VERV̄ DEV̄ ET EV̄ QVEM MISISTI IĪM CRĪSM. It is annexed to a Faculty for the marriage of Henry VIII. and Catharine Parr, dated at Westminster, July 10, 1543.

3. Still more nearly perfect (and supplying the deficiencies of No. 2), but not so fine and sharp as the last, the impression having been flattened by pressure. (Formerly in the Chapter House, Westminster?) Obverse: SIGILLVM THOME CĀTVARIEN ARCHIEPISCOPI ADFACVLTATES. Reverse: HEC Ē VITA ETERNA VT TE *cognos*CANT VERV̄ DEV̄ ET EV̄ QVEM MISTI IĪM CRĪSM. It hangs to a special license for the marriage of Roger Smithe and Frances Griffyn, of Peterborough Diocese, dated March 28, 1545, "Consecrationis nostræ 12mo." This instrument was among the papers of John Caley, Esq., late Keeper of the Records in the Chapter House, Westminster. It was purchased from his executors by Mr. Thorpe, the Bookseller, of Bedford-street, Covent-garden; from whom it was bought by F. G. West, Esq., of Pinner, Middlesex, in whose possession it now is (1856).

[IV.] CRANMER'S PRIVATE SEAL.

Small, bluntly oval, $\frac{7}{8}$ths of an inch by $\frac{5}{8}$ths of an inch.

This small seal exhibits the following emblazonment. Quarterly:—1st, a Chevron between three Cranes being the arms assumed by *Cranmer*[m] after his elevation to the See of Canterbury in 1533; impaling, five Fusils, on each an Escalop for *Aslacton*:—2nd, Ermine on a Chevron, three Cinquefoils, for *Hatfield*, Cranmer's mother:—3rd, as the second:—4th, as the first. Above the shield is (T C).

It is probable that several impressions exist; but two only have come under observation.

1. A very faint wafer impression, to an original letter from Archbishop Cranmer to Dr. Matthew Parker, dated January 8, 1550. It is preserved in the British Museum, Additional MSS. 19400, No. 2, presented by the late Dawson Turner, Esq.

2. An indistinct impression on wax, to a grant of the manor of Tittenhanger, Hertfordshire, from the Crown, to Sir Thomas Pope; sealed and signed by Cranmer, as one of the executors of

King Henry VIII. It is dated, March 28, 5 Edward VI. (1551). It was communicated to me by R. Omry, Esq., Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries.

[m] No arms are assigned to *Cranmer*, in the Nottingham Visitation by Tonge, 1580. But see the note (1) above, p. 9.

The matrix of this seal, in 1662, was in the possession of Thomas Skipman, gentleman, of Skerrington in Nottinghamshire; at which time it was seen, and the arms were tricked from it by Elias Ashmole. His memorandum occurs in MSS. Ashmole, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 854, f. 153, recto: where also are some Church Notes made at Whatton, Nottinghamshire, 1662, by Ashmole, of tombs of the Cranmer family, and arms in stained glass.

Strype says that, in Whatton Church the arms of Cranmer are quartered with those of *Aslacton, Newmarch, Whatton,* and two more families, on the tomb of Thomas Cranmer, "*qui obiit xxvij die Maii, m.ccccc.iii.*" (Memor. of Cranmer, p. 602.)

The arms of Cranmer, as they appear in his Official and Private Seals, were (as has been already stated, note p. 9) *assumed.* In or about the year 1540, a grant of arms, somewhat modified from those he had himself assumed, is said to have been made to him by Henry VIII. Previously to this date, "he bore," says Strype, "his paternal coat of *three Cranes.* . . . For it is to be noted, that the King, perceiving how much ado Cranmer would have in the defence of his religion, altered the *three Cranes,* which were parcel of his ancestors' arms, into *three Pelicans,* declaring unto him, that 'those Birds should signify unto him that he ought to be ready, as *the Pelican* is, to shed his blood for his young ones brought up in the faith of Christ; for,' said the King, 'you are like to be tasted [query? tested] if you stand to your tackling at length.' As in very deed many and sundry times he was shouldered at, both in this King's reign, and under the succeeding Prince's." [n]

This grant, it may be concluded, was not made in 1538; for, though the Archbishop changed his three seals in that year, he

[n] Strype erroneously stated, in the first instance, that this change of arms took place about 1544; but he corrected this conjecture, in his "emendations to the first edition," justly observing—"it must have been several years before; for his new coat of the *Pelicans* may be seen in the frontispiece of the Great English Bible, printed 1540; and how long before that time I know not." "Mem. of Cranmer," I., 181, *note.*

did *not* change the arms, but continued the coat he had assumed in 1533. The new Coat appears, however, in the title of Cranmer's Great Bible, 1540 (with a Crescent for difference); also beautifully emblazoned in colours, on a vellum Roll of Peers, spiritual and temporal, summoned to Parliament 2d Edward VI. (now in possession of Rev. Dr. Wellesley, Principal of New Inn Hall), as follows, Quarterly, 1st and 4th Argent on a chevron Azure between three pelicans in piety Sable three cinquefoils Or.—2d Gules six lionceaux rampant three, two, and one, within a bordure Or.—3d Argent five fusils in fess Gules each charged with an escalloped shell Or. This Coat must, therefore, have been granted in 1539 or 1540.—It will be observed, that this Coat differs from that on the private Seal (p. 12) not only by its having *Pelicans* in the place of *Cranes*, but by the Chevron being charged with 3 Cinquefoils, evidently introduced to combine some portion of the arms of *Hatfield, Cranmer's* mother, (whose quartering was now omitted,) with the Archbishop's.

II.

MELANCTHON TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER?*

WITTENBERG, *August*, 1535.

[Printed in "Melancthoni Epistolæ," Lib. iii., Ep. 40, col. 521, edit. folio, Londini, 1642, Latin.]

† *Translation now first published.*

MOST REVEREND, MY LORD PRIMATE,—I have understood, from Alexander, my excellent and old friend, and from many other good and learned men, that you unite the highest praise for

* Strype gives a short extract from this letter. (Cranmer, i., 577, 584.) A similar letter, addressed to Henry VIII., commending Ales, and soliciting the King's judgment on the work he transmits to him, is printed in "Melancthoni Epistolæ," Lib. iii., Ep. 4, col. 490.

† The Documents which appear in this work, *in an English translation, for the first time*, having hitherto only been printed in some other language, are distinguished by a (†) dagger.

learning with distinguished piety. I therefore often congratulate your Britain, that she has such a Bishop, that, if the Church possessed a few more of the same description, it would not be difficult to restore peace to the world and health to the Church.

Since I do not doubt that you add, to your other excellent qualities, the greatest benevolence, I have ventured to commend to you this excellent man, Alexander Ales,[b] a Scotchman. He is going into Britain, for the purpose of shewing to your

[b] Alexander Ales, or Alan, a Scotchman, on a sharp persecution raised in his own country, in 1534, fled to Antwerp; whence he was called into England by Lord Crumwell and by Archbishop Cranmer, probably in 1536, and in consequence of this introduction of him to the Archbishop by Melancthon. In 1536, Crumwell having accidentally met him, on his way to Convocation, took him with him to deliver his sentiments on the Sacraments; when he insisted that there were only two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Foxe's account (v. 378—384, edit. London, 8vo., 1846) is particularly interesting: it is taken from Ales' own statement in a tract entitled, "Of the auctoritye of the Word of God agaynst the Bisshop of Londen, wherein are conteined certen disputacyons had in the Parlement Howse betweene the Bisshops abowt the nomber of the Sacraments, and other things very necessary to be known; made by Alexander Alane, a Scot, and sent to the Duke of Saxon," 16mo. A copy of this rare tract, wanting the title, is in the Library of St. Paul's Cathedral. Soon after this, he was sent to Cambridge "to reade a lecture of the Scripture there;" but was stopped by the papists on a pretended infringement of the Statutes. He then betook himself to the study of medicine under "Doctor Nicolas" of London. On the death of Crumwell, in 1540, he went to Leipsic, where he became Professor of Divinity. He translated the first Liturgy of King Edward, 1549, from English into Latin, and published it at Leipsic in 1551, in 4to., under the title,—"Ordinatio Ecclesiæ seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in florentissimo Regno Angliæ, conscripta sermone patrio, et in Latinam linguam bona fide conversa, et ad consolationem Ecclesiarum Christi, ubicunque locorum ac gentium, his tristissimis temporibus edita, ab Alexandro Alesio, Scoto, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctore. Lipsiæ, M.D.LI." It can scarcely be doubted that this was the translation used by Bucer and by Peter Martyr, in 1550, when they were requested by Cranmer to give their judgments on the Book of Common Prayer, with a view to its revision which was then being made, and which was published in 1552. It has been thought that this is inconsistent with the fact, that Ales' version was not *published* till 1551; but there is nothing improbable in the supposition that Ales' MS., or even his printed (but then unpublished) sheets, were submitted to the two Divinity Professors above-named, for their use, while preparing their Criticisms. It abounds with interpolations, omissions, and loose translations. It was probably the basis of Haddon's translation of Elizabeth's Liturgy, 1560. For a further account of Ales (whose name is sometimes written Hales, and Allan), see Herbert's Account of Printing, iii., 1547, 1553; and Mackenzie's Scotch Writers, fol. ii. 183.

Reverence a certain writing[c] of mine, in which your Reverend Fathership will perceive that I have endeavoured diligently and profitably to explain, and as far as possible to mitigate, many controversies. But I most willingly leave your Reverend Fathership, and other men of similar learning and piety, to form your own judgment concerning the whole of this writing; for I can never dissent from the judgment of such persons in the Church of Christ. If, therefore, you approve either my earnestness or my writing, I pray your Reverend Fathership to give facilities to this Alexander for laying my little book before His Royal Majesty.

So great is the learning, integrity, and diligence of Alexander, in every office entrusted to him, that he cannot bring to any wise man a more powerful commendation than his own worth. I trust, then, that, according to your prudence and piety, you will give him a hearty welcome: nevertheless I further entreat that, if a letter from myself has any influence with your Reverend Fathership, you will for my sake add some zeal to those attentions which you may be disposed to bestow on him from your own good-will.

Your Most Reverend Fathership will be able to signify to me your opinion of my Treatise by this same Alexander. I commend myself to your Most Reverend Fathership with particular regard. May your Reverend Fathership be preserved in good health, to illustrate the glory of Christ. In the month of August, 1535.

[PHILIP MELANCTHON.]

To the Most Reverend, Thomas, Lord Archbishop of the Church of Canterbury.

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[c] Strype supposes this book to have been Melancthon's "Common Places," which were published in the following year, 1536. The dedication of that work to Henry VIII., is printed in Melancthon's Epistles, Lib. iii., Ep. 6, col. 491.

III.

JOHN HOKER, MINISTER OF MAIDSTONE, TO BULLINGER?[a]

MAIDSTONE, *about May*, 1538.

[Original at Zurich?—Printed, in Latin, in Colomesii Opera, Selectæ Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ, p. 545, Hamburgi, 4to., 1709. Also, in "Burnet, Reformation," Vol. III., Part ii., p. 175, No. 55, Records.]

† *Translation now first published.*

THE Azotic[b] Dagon falls down everywhere in this country. That Babylonian[c] Bel has already been broken to pieces.

There was lately discovered a wooden God of the Kentish folk,[d] a hanging[e] Christ who might have vied with Proteus[f] himself. For he was able, most cunningly, to nod with his head, to scowl with his eyes, to wag his beard, to curve his body, to reject and to receive the prayers of pilgrims. This [puppet],

[a] Colomies does not state who John Hoker was, nor what was the name of the person to whom he addressed his letter: but Burnet gives these particulars from the copy he received from Zurich. (Reform. Vol. III., Part i., Book iii., p. 227.)

[b] "When they came near to Azotus [Ashdod], they showed him the temple of Dagon that was burnt." 1 Maccab. xi. 4—See 1 Samuel v. 2.

[c] An allusion to the Apocryphal Fable of Bel and the Dragon.

[d] The "Rood of Grace" at Boxley near Maidstone, called by Bale "The gaping Rood," is noticed by Bishop Burnet, Reformation, Vol. I., Part I., Book iii., p. 440; Vol. III., Part I., Book iii., p. 227, edit. Oxford, 8vo., 1816; and Vol. III., Part II., No. 55, Records, p. 175, where this Latin letter is printed from a copy obtained from Zurich. See also, Lambard's Perambulations of Kent, p. 228, edit. 1596, where the history of this fraud is described, apparently from an original source. Also, Soames, Ref. II., 264.—In Ellis's Original Letters, Series III., Vol. III., p. 168, is a letter from Geoffrey Chamber to the Lord Privy Seal, "Exposure of the Image called the Rood of Grace." Letters on the same subject, may be seen in the original letters relative to the English Reformation, published by the Parker Society in 1847; namely, from William Petersen to Conrad Pulbert [Hubert?], without date, p. 604; from John Finch, to Conrad Humpard [Hubert?], without date, but properly ascribed by Simler to 1538, p. 605; from Nicholas Partridge to Henry Bullinger, April 12, no year stated, p. 608.

[e] "Pensilis Christus." A Crucifix.

[f] "Prometheus," in Colomesius.—"Proteus," in Burnet.

when the pied[g] Monks lost their craft, was found in their Church, begirded with many an offering; enriched with gifts, linen, waxen, rural, oppidan, and foreign. That energetic man, the brother of our Nicholas Partridge,[h] got scent of the cheat. He loosened him, fixed as he had been to the wall, from his pedestal.[i] The artifices are disclosed; the impostures are disclosed; the wonderful and Polypëan juggler[k] is caught. Throughout his channelled body were hidden pipes, in which the master-of-the-mysteries had introduced through[l] little apertures a ductile wire; the passages being, nevertheless, artfully concealed by thin plates. By such contrivances, he had demented the people of Kent,—aye the whole of England,—for several ages, with much gain. Being laid open, he afforded a sportive sight, first of all, to my Maidstonians, exhibiting himself from a lofty platform to a crowded throng, some laughing heartily, some almost as madly as Ajax. The stroller[m] was taken hence to London. He paid a visit to the Royal Court. This new guest salutes the King[n] himself after a novel fashion.[o] Courtiers, Barons, Dukes, Marquises, Earls, swarm round him like bees;[p] they come from a distance, stand around, stare, and look him through and through. He acts—scowls with his eyes—turns his face away—distorts his nostrils—casts down his head—sets up a hump-back[q]—assents—and dissents! They stare, they deride, they wonder, the theatre rings with their voices, the shout flies into the sky. It is difficult to say whether the King was more pleased on account of the detection of the imposture, or more grieved at heart that the miserable people had been imposed on for so many ages.

What need is there of so many words. The matter was referred to the Council. After a few days, a Sermon was preached in London, at the Metropolitan Cathedral, by the Bishop of Rochester [Dr. John Hilsey]. The Kentish Bel stands opposite to Daniel, erected on the upper part of the

[g] Probably alluding to their pie-bald, or shaven crowns.

[h] Of Lenham, near Maidstone.

[i] "Vestigium."

[k] "Præstigiator."

[l] "Rimulas," Burnet; "Pinnulas," Colomies.

[m] "Circulator."

[n] Henry VIII.

[o] "Novo salutat more," Colomies. "Nemo salutat verè," Burnet.

[p] "Conglomerant apum ritu, Aulici," &c., Colomies. "Conglomerant ipsum risu aulico," &c. Burnet.

[q] "Incurvat dorsum."

pulpit, so that he may be conveniently seen by all. Here, again, he opens himself; here, again, the Player acts his part skilfully. They wonder, they are indignant, they stare with bewilderment, they are ashamed to find they have been so deluded by a puppet. Then, when the Preacher began to wax warm, and the Word of God to work secretly in the hearts of his hearers, the wooden trunk was hurled neck-over-heels among the most crowded of the audience. And now was heard a tremendous clamour of all sorts of people;—he is snatched, torn, broken in pieces bit by bit, split up into a thousand fragments, and at last thrown into the fire; and there was an end of him!

JOHN HOKER.

IV.

PETER MARTYR[a] TO THE FAITHFUL OF THE CHURCH OF LUCCA.

STRASBURGH, *December* 25, 1543.

[Printed in Petri Martyris Epistolæ Theologicæ, edit. London, 1583, p. 1071, at the end of the "Loci Communes."—Martyr's Divine Epistles, translated by Anthonie Marten, p. 62, col. 1, folio, London, 1583.]

Translation, by Marten (with a few verbal corrections).

IF I should use long silence in this flying away, no doubt but it would be unprofitable and ungrateful unto you, and it would ill become me so to do. Wherefore, having the Spirit of God, as I

[a] Peter Martyr Vermiglio was born at Florence in 1500. At sixteen, he was a Canon of the order of St. Austin, at Fiesoli, and became settled in the Monastery of St. John de Verdata, of that order, in Padua. At twenty-six, he began to preach, in the Church of St. Afra in Brescia. About 1530, he was made Abbot of Spoleto, in the Duchy of l'Ombria. He went to Naples, where he became Abbot of the Augustinian Monastery of St. Peter ad Aram. It was there he began to see the light of the Gospel, by reading the writings of Bucer and Zuingle. Being compelled by bad health to remove, he became, about 1534, Prior of St. Fridian, at Lucca. The opinions he embraced exposed him to so great danger, that he fled from Lucca in 1543, and travelling by Pisa, Bologna, Ferrara, and Verona, came to Zurich, thence to Basle, and settled at Strasburgh, where he taught Theology for four years. In December, 1547, he came to England, on the invitation of the Lord Protector and of

hope I have, I minded to talk with you by these letters, since I cannot speak with you face to face.

I tarried at Basle until the 16 calends of November [October 17, 1543]. Although I was welcome and received of all men, yet I found no fit state of life for my studies, because the city had no need of teachers. Therefore, since I was not able to bear out poverty and scarceness without some honest labour, and that my mind gave me not to take any other trade in hand than mine own, namely, the expounding of the Word of God, I remained in a doubt, expecting what the Lord would have to be done with me and my faithful companions. Sometimes we were sorry with ourselves, that when we were come to Zurich we went not forward to Geneva, whither Bernard Ochinus journeyed the day before our coming.

Howbeit, considering the thing diligently, the event of the matter sufficiently sheweth that all things happened according to the providence of God, who provided that our presence was fitter for Strasburgh than meet for Geneva. For Bucer, who now hath the chief place in the Church of Strasburgh, being certified that we lived at Basle without any certain calling, called us hither by letters. Being glad of these tidings, (because we desired also for other causes to see him, giving thanks to Almighty God for such an occasion offered unto us,) we journeyed from Basle to Strasburgh. And so soon as we were come hither, we were most lovingly received by Bucer[b] into his house.

Archbishop Cranmer. He remained some months at Lambeth, in the Archbishop's Palace; and then removed to Oxford, when he became Regius Professor of Divinity in 1548, and was made a Canon of Christ Church. At the revival of Popery, 1553, he was allowed to leave England, and returned to Strasburgh, where he taught Divinity. Here a College of English exiles,—including Jewel, Nowell, Ponet, Grindal, Sandys, Sir John Cheke, Sir Richard Morison, Sir Peter Carew, Sir Thomas Wroth, and others,—"did not disdain to hear Peter Martyr expound the Book of Judges." (Churton, Life of Nowell, p. 23, 8vo., Oxford, 1809.) He quitted Strasburgh, on account of the opposition of the Senate to his doctrine, and settled at Zurich, as the successor of Pellican, in 1556. He was invited by Queen Elizabeth to return to England in 1560, but declined. He died at Zurich, November 12, 1562.—See Strype's Memorials, II., i., 123. But, for full details of his Life, see Simler's Life of Martyr, prefixed to his "Loci Communes."

[b] Martin Bucer was born at Schelestadt, in Alsace, in 1491. He was a Dominican, but the perusal of Erasmus's writings led him to renounce Popery. In 1523 he was admitted into the number of the Reformed preachers at Strasburgh, and subscribed a book with them in which they set forth their reasons

Seventeen days I remained with him; in which time I spied wonderful examples of godliness as well in his doctrine as in his life. His house seemed to be as a house of hospitality—such usual entertainment giveth he towards strangers, who are constrained to travel for the Gospel and for Christ's cause. He so well governeth his household, as in so many days' space I perceived not so much as a small occasion of offence, but found on every side matter of edifying. At his table there is no appearance either of excess or niggardness, but of godly moderation. In meats he maketh no difference of days, but eateth any sort of meat as it is laid before him without superstition, giving oftentimes thanks unto God through Jesus Christ for so many and so great benefits. Before and after meat, somewhat is recited out of the Holy Scriptures which might minister matter for godly and holy communications. I may boldly affirm that I ever went from that table better learned. For I always heard something which I never so thoroughly weighed before, or had not been so well satisfied therein. As touching other actions of his, I always found him occupied, and that in no private business, but in those things wherein he might help his neighbours; that is to wit, in daily sermons, in well governing of ecclesiastical matters, that curates might govern the souls committed unto them, that they should confirm them by holy examples; in visitation of schools of learning, that all the labour which is there bestowed may be referred to the furthering of the Gospel and commodity of the Church; in exhortations whereby he continually stirreth up and enflameth the magistrate unto Christian godliness. There is, in a manner, no day passeth over but he visiteth the Court. And because he is all the whole day occupied in these kinds of business, he hath appointed the night for his private studies and prayers. To say the truth as the thing is, I never awaked out of sleep in the night, but I found him awake. Then by studies he prepared himself to those things which in the day time he was

for renouncing Popery. He was a deputy from the Church at Strasburgh in the Conference at Marpurg for settling the dissensions between the Lutherans and Zuinglians in 1529. He laboured for this pacification to the end of his life, in vain. He himself ultimately came very near to the opinions of Calvin and Bullinger, as settled in the Zurich "Consent;" but still retained a view, distinct from theirs, as to the Real Presence, not locally, but spiritually:—the Body being present in some mysterious way not to be explained or understood, but not to be confounded with Luther's Consubstantiation.

to speak; then obtained he by prayers strength unto his actions in the day time.

Behold, well-beloved brethren, in our age, bishops upon the earth, or, rather, in the Church of Christ, which be truly holy. This is the office of a pastor,—this is that bishop-like dignity described by Paul in the Epistles unto Timothy and Titus. It delighteth me much to read this kind of description in those Epistles, but it pleaseth me a great deal more to see with the eyes the patterns themselves. Perhaps those of yours which only have the bare name of bishops will object, that the dignity and bishop-like majesty cannot by this means be preserved. If a bishop should preach and teach every day; if he must every day, teach and visit the schools; if care should be taken of the needy strangers and wayfarers; if poverty should be suffered with an indifferent mind, without the greatness of revenues—where shall be the dignity, where shall be the glory, where shall be the majesty of a bishop? We answer, that honour, riches, and glory are in no estimation among the pastors of souls and apostolical bishops:—contrariwise we grant that, unto bishops which be not of the Church but of the world; unto parents not of souls but of children; unto pastors not of men but of dogs, horses, and hawks; these [temporal] things are most of all regarded, these are among the delights, unto these must be employed all endeavour, unto these must be bended all their strength. But, lest our Epistle should wax too great, setting aside these unmeet bishops, let us return unto that whereof we began to speak.

Bucer obtained for me of the Senate an honest stipend, whereby I may very well maintain my living; and therewithal committed unto me the charge of interpreting every day some place out of the Holy Scriptures. Now presently I interpret the lesser prophets, as they use to call them, being now ready to make an end of Amos. And because the most part in this school have knowledge in the Hebrew, I expound the Hebrew text in Latin. Capito,[c] a man famous in learning and godliness, occupied before the place appointed unto me, who being dead a year now past, none hath been as yet appointed in his stead. Now hath God, the most merciful Father, brought me hither,

[c] Wolfgang Fabricius Capito was born at Hagenau, in Alsace, in 1478. He was Professor of Divinity at Basle; and, as appears from this letter, afterwards at Strasburgh. He died of the plague in 1541.

that I might in some part ease Bucer of his infinite labours, who before my coming was to teach every day in the school. Since the time that I have been placed in the room of Capito, he may now leave off the affairs of that school, to order other business that is of no less importance. He preached every day, with great profit of the whole school and of me myself that hear him read. Wherefore by the benefit of God's mercy, my affairs are in very good state. Moreover, I cannot express in words how welcome and well-beloved I am of all, and how well I content the whole school. Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of his infinite clemency hath been merciful unto me.

I would that the Church in your city might be adorned with such government. Undoubtedly you should receive a far greater profit by daily sermons and public readings of the Holy Scriptures, than by so many masses, understood, for the most part, neither of the sacrificing priests which say them, neither yet of those that hear them. The Word of God never falleth without some fruit. So as it would profit all men of every condition, kindred, age, and sex; and so might as well your Church, as also your city, be made better and more excellent. Unless I be deceived, you will answer after this manner:—"This, indeed, would be far better, and far more profitable, but we have need of pastors, for want of whom we are much troubled. But, if those few which remain with us should imitate your flying away wherein you forsake us, we should be left utterly destitute, neither should there be any either to comfort or instruct us out of the Gospel." Be not, therefore, dismayed (my most dearly beloved brethren), neither do you despair. For although I have been taken away from you, yet will not God our most merciful Father forsake you, but will evermore raise up some man that shall teach you the truth. I have prayed, and again do pray for that which I judge profitable for you; but I am no God, that I can give you this before the time appointed. The most merciful God for his infinite wisdom sake shall, in place and time most convenient, establish your Church which seemeth now to be dismayed and overthrown, which certainly appeareth not to be altogether destitute of the strength of the Spirit: for in banishment and persecutions wherewith it is daily vexed, it bringeth forth no less fruit of faith than do

these Churches, which by the benefit of God enjoy peace and quietness. Besides, although ye should be altogether destitute of ministers of the Word to whom the charge of preaching the Gospel is committed (which inconveniences God forbid), yet shall never the Spirit of God be wanting, who shall be in your hearts in the stead of preachers. Moreover, there are among you which by the grace of God are so greatly illumined with the light of the truth as they can also give light unto others, and give a testimony unto the truth; and, besides those whom the Lord hath now endued with this grace, he shall always stir up others. Wherefore I gather by all these things that my departure hath been no cause of damage unto you. I acknowledge that it cannot be but that ye take it grievously to be deprived of that spiritual comfort which God sometime gave you by my sermons, lectures, and conferences which I had with you. Howbeit, when, as God recompenseth this loss with a greater strength of the Spirit, it is manifest that there is no damage brought unto your salvation. Besides that, these sermons, lectures, and conferences could not endure any longer, unless I would either have darkened the truth, or have professed things which are plainly false. The one of which, namely, obscuring of the truth, it grieveth me that I did it at any time; but to teach falsely, that should not in any wise have been done. There hath been already rumour spread abroad at Rome amongst those which were conversant in these matters, that it is chiefly to be attributed unto me that your city did continue in error. Yea, and this was cast in my teeth at Lucca, that I may by my sermons and authority remedy all these things. Yea, and those monks also of mine murmured every day that our monastery was for my sake worse reported of than the monastery of the Augustinians, and that I might rid alway this blemish by three words in the pulpit. The very which bruit[e] was now come to the chief governor and to the principals of the order. Wherefore I foresaw that it would by some means come to pass, that I should be forbidden the office of preaching either by the Pope or by your city, or else by our Society, and that bodily punishments besides should be laid upon me nothing at all to your commodity. For wherein I have been a help unto you by my silence, especially

[e] Report.

when in so many sermons and lectures I expounded unto men, if they were not deaf, those principal points of heavenly doctrine which are necessary unto salvation,—yea, in a manner, all those things which I myself understood. Ye will object, "You should have continued and waited until the imminent oppressions had come upon you, and those to have suffered with a patient mind, which at the length would greatly have furthered the building of the Church; for by your example you should have animated others unto constancy. Of all other things it is least of all to be allowed that you fled away when no necessity urged." Herein standeth the whole sum of the controversy,—to understand when necessity shall urge. Such manner of necessity and opportunity God revealeth unto them which wholly commit themselves in adversities unto his protection. But that the same moment of time wherein I departed was fit for that purpose, I so persuaded myself, as I doubt not but that this persuasion is the inspiration of God. And although that I did not abide the bitter troubles before my departure, yet could I not utterly avoid all. What troubles I suffered at Naples, and there where you are, I know well enough. Let you yourselves be judge what disquietness, and how many adversities I endured all the last year: which, although they were not most grievous calamities, yet were they messengers and tokens of them. Wherefore it seems to me that I have suffered so many, that I have not preached the Gospel without afflictions: afterward I neglected not a fit occasion of safety offered.

While I am in this place I serve by the benefit of God unto some use. If God shall give any quietness to your state, perhaps I will lead my life again with you: neither will I shun any danger whereunto God shall call me for the salvation of souls. Moreover, ye be not ignorant of the troubles wherewith my conscience was vexed, because of that state of life which I followed. I should every day have winked at an innumerable sort of superstitions, I should not only myself have executed superstitious rites, but should also without all reason have required them of others: many things should I have done otherwise than I judged or taught. Your pastor I was; what I was able to bring to pass by lectures and sermons, that I did: when I could not govern the Church, as Christian truth requireth, I thought it better, in giving over so difficult a charge,

to withdraw myself into some place, from whence I might at the least exhort you by letters, than to remain in that place where I should have been deprived of all conversation with you, and not to have been lawful to deal with you either in presence or by letters. I am not privy that any man hath been brought in peril through my flying away. In such a place am I by the benefit of God, as I may interpret the Holy Scriptures, comfort you by letters, and exhort you to retain the pureness of the Gospel. And, to say the truth, this departing of mine (which I speak for setting forth the glory of God) being diligently considered, is not without a mortification of mine own-self; nor without neglect of promotion and honours wherewith in the sight of men I was largely endued; nor without less commodities, whereof I had plenty on every side; nor yet without resignation of authority, wherein I could do much among all men. And all these things I might have augmented many ways, if I would have departed from the truth and Gospel of God. Wherefore, since I am delivered from so great a danger, being not ignorant of these kinds of troubles, since I was certified from Rome, from the society, from the monastery, and from your city, of the persecution even at hand, since I did harm unto none, but by lectures and sermons did manifest the truth, all dignities, riches, and commodities set aside, being rid out of the bonds of superstitions, and delivered from so many hypocrisies: if I delivered my life from imminent oppression, there is no cause why any man should take occasion of offence. And doth not the Lord grant that we should avoid persecutions? To speak freely as the thing is, I acknowledge herein no fault. I would I could as well allow all the rest of my actions. But if it be any sin, it must rather be attributed unto reason than to will.

Of these things, dear brethren, I have written somewhat more at large, but yet (as I judge) not without profit. For an interpreter of the Word of God must yield account unto the people both of sayings and doings which are of great importance, and may otherwise be taken of other men, lest he destroy more by his actions than he hath edified by his sermons. Hereafter I will write more often unto you: neither will I write anything else than Christian doctrine and spiritual consolations. First, I thought good to certify you in what place of the world I am,

and wherein I am occupied, and therewithal to yield a reason of my departure. I make mention of you in all my prayers. Wherefore I earnestly beseech you, that you will shew the like part unto me, commending me in your prayers to the mercy of God. Grace and peace through the Spirit of Christ be daily multiplied through you all. Amen. Given at Strasburgh the 8 calends of January, 1543. [December 25, 1543.]

V.

CALVIN TO BULLINGER.

GENEVA, *November* 25, 1544.

[Latin, in Calvini Opera IX., 239, col. 2, edit. Amstelodami, folio, 1667. The greater part of this letter is translated into English by Dyer, Life of Calvin, p. 182, London, 1850, 8vo. A translation of the whole, is in Constable's Letters of Calvin, I., p. 408, 8vo., Edinburgh, 1855.]

New Translation.—Extract.

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I HEAR that Luther has at length broken forth with an atrocious invective,[a] not so much against you, as against us all. At this

[a] In his publication, "A short confession concerning the Supper." In this treatise Luther wrote in the harshest terms respecting Zuingle and Œcolampadius, insulting their memory. Hospinian, Hist. Sacr. ii., 326—331. Melancthon, grieved at these bitter invectives, wrote thus to Bucer, 28th August, 1544:—"I have written to you about our Pericles, who has again begun to thunder most vehemently on the subject of the Lord's Supper, and has written a fierce attack in which you and I are beaten black and blue. I am a quiet, peaceable bird, and would willingly depart out of this prison-house, if our disturber should constrain me." Melancthoni Opera, V., 464, edit. Breitschneider. He wrote to Bullinger on the same subject:—"perhaps before you get this letter you will have received a most atrocious publication by Luther, in which he revives the war on the subject of the Lord's Supper: he has never before taken up the cause so violently; cease, therefore, to hope for the peace of the Churches." (Melchior Adam, Vita Bullingeri, p. 485.) To Frecht, Pastor of Ulm, he wrote:—"if my tears were as plentiful as the waters of the Danube, they would not suffice to exhaust the grief I feel at this renewal of the Sacramental war"— a figure which we find him using in a letter to Cranmer, April 1, 1548 (p. 43 below), probably alluding to the continuation of the same controversy.—See more on this unhappy subject, in Dyer, Life of Calvin, p. 181, seqq.

time I scarcely dare request you to be silent; both because it is not just that the undeserving should be thus harassed, while the opportunity of clearing themselves is denied, and because it is difficult to decide whether such a course would be expedient.

But I wish you to bear this in mind,—in the first place;—what a man was Luther, and with what excellent qualities was he endued! With what firmness of mind, with what perseverance, with what skill, with what efficacy of doctrine, has he up to this moment bent all his energies at once to overthrow the kingdom of Antichrist, and to propagate the doctrine of salvation! Often have I declared, that, even although he should call me a devil, I would nevertheless honour him by acknowledging that he is an eminent servant of God; one, however, who, while he is distinguished by rare excellencies, also labours under great faults. I could wish that he strove more earnestly to curb this intemperate disposition, which boils over on every occasion. I could wish that he had always directed that vehemence, which is a part of his nature, against the enemies of the truth, and that he had not also hurled it against the servants of the Lord. I could wish he had given greater attention to the consideration of his own failings. Flatterers have done him much harm; since by nature he is but too much inclined to think well of himself. It is our duty, nevertheless, while we blame whatever evil qualities attach to him, at the same time to make some allowance in consideration of his excellent gifts. I earnestly entreat, therefore, you and your colleagues to bear in mind, in the first place, that you have to do with a first-rate servant of Christ to whom we all are very much indebted.

In the next place, do not forget that you will gain nothing more by conflict, than to afford sport to the ungodly; and to give them a triumph, not so much over us as over the Gospel. If we tear each other in pieces, they give more than sufficient[b] credit to us. But if, with one consent and one mouth we preach Christ, they make an unfair use of this, and endeavour to bring reproach upon our faith, by giving us credit for sentiments which we do not hold.[c]

[b] The meaning probably is,—"they too readily credit our mutual recriminations:"—"*plus satis habent nobis fidei.*"

[c] I have given what appears to me to be the meaning of a passage, which I

I wish, therefore, that you would rather give your attention and thoughts to these considerations, than to what Luther may deserve on account of his violence; lest that should come upon us of which Paul warns us,—that we should be consumed, one of another, by biting and devouring one another. Although he may be the aggressor, it is better to abstain from a contest, than that we should increase the wound to the general suffering of the Church.[d]

Farewell, my much honoured brother in the Lord, and my dearest friend. Salute reverently in my name all our fellow-ministers. The Lord preserve you, and increase his gifts in you more and more.

Geneva, November 25, 1544. My Colleagues very heartily salute you.

Thine,

JOHN CALVIN.

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do not profess clearly to understand: "*eo abutuntur ad fidem nobis derogandam, in quo, plusquam par sit, nobis credunt.*" Mr. Constable translates it; "they avail themselves unwarrantably of our inherent weakness to cast reproach upon our faith;"—a rendering, neither justified by the original, nor bringing out an intelligible sense.

[d] Notwithstanding Calvin's advice, the Ministers of Zurich, early in 1545, published, "An Orthodox Confession of the Church of Zurich, &c. . . . with respect to the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ: together with a reasonable and modest Answer to the vain and scandalous calumnies, opinions, and insults, of Dr. Martin Luther," &c. Calvin, in a letter to Melancthon, June 28, 1545, subsequently justified this step, but was not satisfied with their production, which he called "jejune and puerile." An interesting extract from this letter, with some passages restored by Hesse (Leben Bullingers i., 455) which had been suppressed by Beza (Calvini Opera IX., 33, col. 1, edit. Amstal., 1667) is given by Dyer, Life of Calvin, p. 184, London, 1850.

VI.

JOHN À LASCO TO MARTIN BUCER

BONN, *June*, 1545.

[Parker MSS., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, f. 105. Latin Autograph.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

MOST LEARNED MAN,—I lately received, by the hands of Albert [Hardenberg], your letter, in which you replied to me on the matter on which I had written to you some months before. I thank you very much that you have not thought it troublesome to write to me so lovingly, in the midst of your so many and arduous occupations.

I wrote my sentiments to you so freely, my Bucer, because I desire that all my thoughts should be approved by you; or should be corrected by you, if in any particular I fail to satisfy you. I am sure you cannot doubt that that is the real state of the case. But if I think that the fountains of any particular doctrine ought to be diligently explored by me, in *that* foundation—you know *what* it is[a]—before I am willing to follow it; I believe that such [a decision] will be gratifying to you and to every Christian man.

However, as far as I can judge, we do not differ very greatly from each other: or rather, we vary rather in words than in the matter itself. You say, that, in the Supper, Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ is "Given and Partaken[b];" I say, that, in the Supper, that same Communion is "Sealed[c]:" following the similitude which Paul has proposed to us in his explanation of Circumcision. For when I affirm, that faith in the promise is "Sealed" to our souls by the use of the Supper, I also include, under the name of the promises, the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, since we have it brought and

* The Documents which appear in this work *for the first time*, (having hitherto existed only in the original MS.,) are distinguished by an (*) asterisk.

[a] "Fontes cujusque doctrinæ in fundamento illo diligenter mihi perquirendos esse puto, scis quo," &c. The meaning seems a little doubtful.

[b] "Percipi."

[c] "Obsignari."

opened to us by the promise: so that your "Given and Received," does not seem to me to be very far distant from my "Sealed." For if the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ is so Given to us in the Supper, as that it does not then first *begin*, but was ours *before;* if, also, He is there, to wit as the food of the soul;—how much difference, I ask, will there be, between your "*Dare*" [Given] and my "*Obsignare*" [Sealed]? As regards the word "Covenant," I do not sufficiently comprehend your own meaning, nor have I opportunity just now to bestow full consideration upon it; but as soon as I shall have a little more leisure, I will think over it diligently, and write to you again.

In the meantime, however, I am desirous of expressing to you, in a general way, how much I am gratified that you have written to me as you have done; and how much I shall continue to be gratified if you shall always write to me in this way. But I am inclined to think it would be better not to mention to every one the particulars which have thus passed between us in correspondence, than that they should be read by so many persons. Our Albert says, that it is your wish that what you have written to me should be read over to the ministers of the Church in this place: and, indeed, I hear that many copies have been made. I take no offence at this: but I can scarcely consider it profitable that the correspondence of friends should be scattered about for public perusal; since such communications are confidential,[d] and are sometimes written with greater freedom than to render it expedient that the public should know them.

You have touched some thoughts on the word "Communion," which I had anticipated by my own observations; but you have not altogether yet cleared up that matter; on which subject I . . . . .[e], and so of other things.

Forgive my haste, for I am compelled to conclude. Farewell. Be assured that I have a great regard for you; that I am your friend in Christ the Lord; and that I am, at the very least, as tender of your reputation as I am of my own. I desire, however, that the reputation of us all should subserve the glory of Christ; for to Him alone all glory is due. Again farewell, and salute all the brethren in the Lord. Albert salutes you,

[d] "Singularia."

[e] A word here is not intelligible.

and begs that you would consider this letter as written to you by both of us. Bonn, on the eve of John the Baptist [June 23], in the year 1545.

Yours *ex animo*,

JOHN À LASCO,
with my own hand.

To the learned and faithful Doctor of the Church of Christ, D. Martin Bucer, to his own hands.

VII.

À LASCO TO BULLINGER AND PELLICAN.[f]

EMBDEN, *March* 23, 1546.

[Original Latin in the Archives of Zurich. Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV., i., p. 461, edit. Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

HEALTH and peace in Christ, most respected brethren. I am compelled to write to you both in one letter, being overwhelmed with business . . . . . [g]

When I was at Heidelberg, I did not see Bucer; which I regret, for we mutually wished to converse. Several times we corresponded on the Sacramentarian matter; nor is there much difference between us. I shut up all Sacraments within the limits of obsignation; he adds, exhibition, but so that whatever is heavenly in Sacraments is received only by the pious whose faith is carried up into heaven. Here I assent, and I confess that, our minds being drawn up into heaven by faith through the

[f] "A Golden Epistle," says Hess, MS. Analytical Catalogue of Original Letters of the Reformers preserved at Zurich, or in other Repositories, 1823, Vol. I., p. 94, in possession of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford.—This valuable Catalogue, by Solomon Hess, nephew of Antistes Hess, consists of three volumes: Vol. I. has pp. liv. and 164; Vol. II. has pp. 315; Vol. III. contains merely "Orations." It will be referred to hereafter, as Hess's Catalogue.

[g] À Lasco here states that he had at length left the Episcopal Church, on account of its corruptions, and the impediments placed in the way of his ministry.

Holy Spirit, we there receive a true communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, after the manner of a Sacrament, that is by obsignation. So far have we advanced: nor do I doubt but that the matter will succeed in other points, especially since Luther is no more.

Wonderful it is, that that most holy man, a man worthy of eternal praises in the Church of Christ, should have been under such delusion in this matter of the Signs. However, we may learn from it this lesson,—that we are all *men*, that is *fallible*,[h] as far as left to ourselves; that we cannot rely on the authority of any man whatever upon earth; that we ought to know, that the wood, hay, and stubble of our human error must be consumed by the fire of the Divine word; but that, nevertheless, we shall doubtless be saved, provided we rest upon our Foundation, —upon which that Luther rested with his whole heart, no one can deny. Now, to say nothing of the gold, precious stones, and silver in his doctrine; undoubtedly, he was the first in our age who illustrated with wonderful felicity the cause of our justification through Christ; he so detected the mysteries of iniquity of Antichrist, which had been hitherto as much adored throughout almost the whole world as God Himself, that they became familiar even to boys; he restored multitudes of Churches, according to the gift bestowed on him; he resisted the adversaries of the Gospel of Christ with such spirit and such constancy to the day of his death;—that in all these things he may justly claim praise beyond everyone else: nevertheless, in all these things he was a man; which, indeed, we ought always to reflect, admonished by his example, is our own condition. Whether at last he made any graceful[i] concessions to your [Church], I know not, for I never heard; but, even if there were anything of this kind, its publication would probably be suppressed. In the meantime, whether anything of this kind be suppressed, or be published, I could wish that your [Church] would send forth some little laudatory testimonial[k] of such a man, in witness of your candour and Christian love towards him, accompanied by some modest exception in respect of this Sacramentarian cause. Thus you would close the mouths of many adversaries of the

[h] *Mendaces*—a stronger word than fallible, but probably here used in its mildest sense.

[i] "In vos Aliquid adornârit."

[k] "Lauditiuncula."

Gospel, by this singular example of your modesty; you would undoubtedly gratify all the pious; and, which is the principal consideration, you would give no ordinary testimony of your integrity to the universal Church of Christ. Possibly, also, you would induce [Christians] to institute a more earnest inquiry, as to the means by which this Sacramentarian controversy may be ended by mutual conciliation; and this consideration alone is sufficient to stimulate your minds with regard to my suggestion. For what can be imagined more desirable, than that this controversy should be settled? If I could see that your minds were disposed to this, especially in concert with your Magistracy, I would make every effort to induce either the Landgrave of Hesse, or the Count Palatine Elector, (to each of whom I am known,) or my Prince the Elector of Cologne, to sanction a Conference of learned men, to which you also should be invited: but I should not deem it expedient to do this, until I am assured of your wishes. Should this suggestion meet your approbation, it would not be unfavourable to the plan if you were to put forth, as I said, some little laudatory testimonial, (with the exception of the Sacramentarian question,) in which you should declare that you desire concord, and that you do not discourage a friendly, free, and Christian Conference on that matter.[1]

I have been desirous of writing a few words of advice to you on these matters, brethren beloved in the Lord, since we seem, just now, to have a good opportunity of prosecuting such a plan with fair hope of success. I have no time for more at present. I only request you to salute our Vadian, as from me, when you write to him, with the greatest regard. I cannot write to him now, but I will shortly, and, the Lord permitting, I will do what he requests. Salute the rest of the brethren.

May the God of peace govern us all unitedly by His Spirit, that we may do and speak those things which are worthy of Him. Amen. Embden, March 23, 1546.

Yours heartily, such as he is,

JOHN À LASCO.

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[1] A Lasco addressed a letter to Bucer, almost in the same words, urging a Conference. It is not dated, but was clearly written at the same time as this. It is printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiq., IV., i., 465.

VIII.

BULLINGER TO MELANCTHON.

ZURICH, *April* 1, 1546.

[MSS. Archives of the Church of Zurich, Repository C., Epistles, Vol. I., p. 300. Printed in Fuesslin, Epistolæ ab Ecclesiæ Helveticæ Reformatoribus, &c., Centuria prima, p. 237, 8vo., Tiguri, 1742. Hess, Catal. I., p. 98, says that Fuesslin's is "not without errors," but that it is printed "exactè" in Musei Helvetici particula III., p. 494.]

† *Translation now first published.*

GRACE and innocency of life from the Lord. Learned Philip, respected Sir, and dearest brother,—I have refrained, for half a year, from saluting you, and writing to you: not that I have ceased to love, or begun to dislike you; but on account of that unhappy contention which existed between D. Luther (of blessed memory) and us; for I was greatly afraid, that, if I continued, as I began, to salute you familiarly, and to send you letters and books, I might stir up D. Luther against you, and might raise a great suspicion, among many testy people, of your being in collusion with us. I was aware, even from the last letter you addressed me, of your recent trials from certain restless brethren. But now, since D. Luther has departed to the Lord, and there is no longer any danger that displeasure[m] between you and him might be excited, through the suggestions of persons who do not value as they ought harmony among brethren, I recommence a correspondence which I will diligently continue, unless my [proffered] intimacy should not even now be accepted with simplicity[n] and pleasure.

I am glad that D. Luther, that learned man, who has deserved so well of the Church, has departed[nn] to the Lord; not, as the Lord knows, on account of the controversy which we had with him; but because, set free from great evils, and snatched away from future calamities, he has happily finished his course, and now rejoices in glory with our Lord whom he served. On the other hand, I grieve not a little that we are bereaved of a man whose help and counsel were so beneficial to us in the common cause of religion. For though, through the infirmity of human

[m] "Exacerbatio." [n] "Integra et grata sit." [nn] Luther died Feb. 17, 1546.

nature, he had his faults, yet, having been endowed with remarkable constancy, he was firm and immoveable in maintaining purity of doctrine in opposition to Papists, to whom he would concede nothing by compromises and conferences. No doubt he saw, by his singular prudence, that those[o] men transacted all [such] things, artfully, insincerely, aye, and malignantly; he saw that little or no hope was left for them: for our Saviour says in the Gospel, "How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" [John v. 44.] He had well weighed what Paul, that chosen vessel, said, speaking of such men; "These resist the Truth; men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith: from such turn away." [2 Tim. iii. 5, 8.]

We hope, also, that, through the grace given you from the Lord, you will assert purity and simplicity of doctrine, with equal firmness and strength of the Spirit, against all who corrupt it. If we have it in our power to afford you any counsel or aid towards the happy accomplishment of this object, we offer and pledge, to you and to the pious, unreservedly, our utmost help and our whole selves. I cannot but believe, Philip, that so pious a man as yourself does not shrink from us as impure. We have, it is true, given a reply to the short Confession put forth against us by D. Luther; for it was impossible to conceal that he attacked us, and especially our Preceptors of pious memory, and our Churches. At the same time we published a Confession of our faith and doctrine; which we hope does not displease so pious a man[p] as yourself, as we know it agrees with the Confessions of all the holy. We could not speak otherwise of the Supper of the Lord, unless we had spoken against our faith and conscience; urged as we were by the articles of Apostolic Faith, and by the matter of Justification. For the articles of Faith teach what we must think respecting the Body of Christ, even [though it be now a] clarified[q] [Body]. Moreover, the pure and sincere doctrine of Justification teaches,—that it is neither by Sacraments, nor by any external things, but simply by the mercy of God through Christ, that we are made accepted by the Father, or received into the favour of God; and that the heavenly gifts of life are exhibited to us, being received by us by a sincere faith; so that the gifts of life are conferred and exhibited by

[o] "Istos." [p] "Tua pietas." [q] "Clarificatum."

God himself alone; nevertheless they are received by us by faith, are announced by the Word, and are sealed by the Sacraments. You know that the Apostle Paul thus teaches in Romans iv. [9, 11], where he says: "Faith was first reckoned to Abraham for justification," and then, being justified, he received the Sacraments; (which were not, indeed, vain and useless, although he was justified;) for he received Circumcision, a Sacrament, Sign, or Obsignation of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised. You know, also, that Sacraments are of like character; especially as the same Apostle says, "Let a man examine (*probet*) himself, and so let him eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup." Of necessity, therefore, those who legitimately communicate in the Supper of the Lord, are first justified and made partakers with Christ; and they partake of the Supper that they may receive the sealing of the righteousness of faith,—a seal, I say, and a visible testimony instituted by the Lord himself, witnessing this—that the faithful, being justified and washed from their sins, by the Body of Christ given and His Blood shed, are made members of Christ, and heirs of all the good things of Christ.

However, it is not my present design to discourse on the Lord's Supper or the Sacraments; I have simply written thus much for the present occasion. If, in that Confession of ours, some things do not seem to be even yet clear, explicit, or sufficiently weighed; we will expound them more fully when pointed out. If we seem to have erred, we will gladly bear to be instructed. We acknowledge [that the Lord's Supper is] the symbol of consent and concord, the bond of peace and unity: hence it grieves us excessively that it has been seized on by Satan, and by some persons more than sufficiently pugnacious, as a matter for wars and discords. From our heart and very soul we desire to join our troops and forces, with all who call on the name of Christ in truth, and to bring supplies to the saints, for the Church of Christ, to wage the battles of the Lord against the followers of Antichrist. This is what I wish, in a brotherly spirit, to impress on your mind as a Leader of the host of the Lord; beseeching you, by Christ our King, and by brotherly love, that you would apply all your counsels and all your strength solely to this point; in order that we, who receive Christ, and

renounce Antichrist, laying aside dissimulations, and putting an end to civil and intestine wars, may be made, and may be, of one mind in Christ, and may fight under one Prince, CHRIST.

. . . . . Farewell, my respected Philip! Receive these my [suggestions] in a brotherly spirit; and, again, Farewell! All my brethren and fellow-ministers salute you—Professors Pellican, Gualter, Bibliander, Buchter; also D. Conrad Gesner, Ammian, Colin, Werdmuller, and the rest. Salute, for us, D. Jonas, Cruciger, D. Pomeranus, and the rest of our most respected brethren. Zurich, April, 1546. Thine,

BULLINGER.

IX.

BILL OF EXPENCES OF PETER MARTYR'S AND OF OCHINE BERNARDINE'S JOURNEY FROM STRASBURGH TO ENGLAND.

[MSS. Ashmole Library, Oxford, No. 826, art. 3.—Printed in Archæologia, Vol. xxi., p. 472, 473 (1827).]

LONDON, *December* 20, 1547.

Laus Deo.

Sm̄a 180 guldens 1 batz 2 oz. aft: 15 batz. for the gulden, facit 127 crones of the sun & 15 batz 2 oz. reckonyng aft: 23 batz for the crone	117	15	2
P^d more for our expensys & for our guydes frō Agentine to London 83 crones of the sun . .	83	0	0
Sm̄a 200 crones of the sun & 15 batz 2 oz. at 6^s the pece, facit	*li.* 61	*s.* 4	*d.* 0 *st*

Mony layd out by me John Abell for Bernerdinus & Petrus Marter sens ther comyng to London the 20th of December, 1547.

	li.	*s.*	*d.*
Paid for two payer of hose for Bernerdinus and Petrus Marter	0	11	4
P^d for a payer nether stocks for ther servant . .	0	2	0
P^d for 3 payer of shooe for them and ther servant .	0	2	4
P^d for 2 nyght cappes of vellvet for them . .	0	8	0
P^d for 2 round cappes for them	0	6	0

	li.	s.	d.
Pd for 2 payer of tunbrydg. knyves for them . .	0	2	8
Pd for 2 payer garters of sylke ryband . . .	0	2	6
for ryband for a gyrdell for Petrus Marter . .	0	1	2
for 2 payer of glovys for them	0	1	0
Pd for ther sop' and brekefast yt nyght and mornyng that they came to London	0	10	5
Pd for Potycary ware for them and sending ther gere to Lambeth	0	1	10
for the frayght of Petrus Marters dryfate of books from Argentine to Andwerp 12 dollers . .	2	12	0
for the frayght of Bernerdinus dryfate of books frō Basell to Andwerp 17½ dollers	3	15	2
for the frayght of the said dryfate from Andwerp to London	0	7	9
Pd for ther horsmeat untyll two of them were sold & two delyv'd to ther s̃vants	2	8	6

	li.	s.	d.
Sm̄a . . .	11	17	0
Sm̄a of the other syde	60	04	0
Sm̄a tot' . .	72	01	0
Wherof I have R. for two of the sayd horses sold in Smythfeld . .	4	13	6
So ther remaynyth herof due to me	lxvij li	vij s	vj d

	li.	s.	d.
Dely'd also by my lord of Canterburye com̄mandment to Julius and Peter Marter's s'vant at hys going o' french 30 crones at 6s the pece, fecit . .	9	00	0
Delyv'd also to Julius by my lord of Canterburye com̄mandment a byll to receyve at hys comyng to Argentine	30	00	0
More for to be allowyd for my costes in rydng to Argentine at Basell cs for thes two men . .	20	00	0
Sm̄a . . . 59li 0s 0d			
Sm̄a totall of all the charges layd out by me John Abell amountyth as apperyth by this byll . .	126li	7s	6d

Memorandū that I have also wrytten to my factor at Argentine to delyv' to the sayd Julius if he shall nede as mych monye more

as he shall thinke necessary to pay the charges of the comyng doune of ther wyffe.

It may please my Lords of the Counsell to consyder my hynderance & losse of tyme about myne oune busyness sith I went about this.

X.

MELANCTHON TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.[s]

WITTENBERG, *January* 13, 1548.

[Printed in Melancthoni Epistolæ, Lib. iii., Ep. 43, col. 522, edit. Londini, fol. 1642. Latin.]

† *Translation now first published.*

MOST REVEREND PRELATE,—Walter Scott informs me, by letter, that he has been most kindly received by you in consequence of the testimonial I gave him when he left us. I rejoice both on his and my own account, for his prosperity and adversity affect me no less than my own. I return you my respectful thanks.

My friend Francis Dryander,[t] who is also an acquaintance of Walter's, being about to go into England, has requested a letter [of recommendation] from me; not with the desire of being burdensome to any one; but, being a stranger, he seeks, after the antient custom, for a patron in your country, and for a *Προστατης* [a Chief] as the Greeks expressed it. I think that he is known to other persons in England; on whose report respecting Francis I cannot doubt that you will embrace him with much good-will and with particular kindness. I have

[s] Strype gives an extract from this letter. (Cranmer I. 580.) A nearly similar letter, but with much prefatory matter, was written on the same day by Melancthon to Edward VI., of which Strype has given a nearly complete translation. (Memorials, II., i., pp. 188, 189.)

[t] Francis Dryander—whose real name was Enzinas, and who was sometimes called Duchesne—was born at Burgos, about 1515. He was a scholar of Melancthon. He translated the New Testament into Spanish in 1542, for which he was imprisoned, but escaped in fifteen months, and fled to Calvin at Geneva. He came to England in 1548, and was made Professor of Greek at Cambridge, where he remained till he fled from the Marian persecution in 1553. Strype erroneously says he was fixed at Oxford.

known him intimately for many years. We strictly observe the Homeric rule among us,—to love a guest as though he were a brother: but my affection for him is founded, also, on my judgment; for I have thoroughly observed his opinions and manners. I know that he is endowed with an excellent genius; that he is distinguished by his acquisitions in learning; that he has a very correct judgment in controversies; and that he is altogether opposed to the opinions of the fanatical and the seditious. You will soon discover the remarkable gravity of his manners. To these great accomplishments he adds a true knowledge and reverence[u] of God.

Being such a man, I intreat you to receive him kindly. I think he would be of some use in an University.

I write somewhat briefly and simply, on account of my lack of time, which barely gives me leisure to scribble this letter to you. Pray excuse such a hasty epistolary effusion. You will acknowledge how sincere my letter is, when a few days shall have shewn you Francis's genius, learning, and manners.

Fare well and happily. January 13, 1548.

[PHILIP MELANCTHON.]

To the Most Reverend, Thomas
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

XI.

JOHN À LASCO TO HARDENBERG.

EMBDEN, *Feb.* 19, 1548.

[Latin, Printed in Gerdes, Serinium Antiquarium, Tom. II., P. ii., p. 641. 4to. Groningæ, 1750.]

† *Translation now first published. Extract.*

* * * *

IF there be any persons in England, who think ill of Philip [Melancthon], they are those, probably, who do not sufficiently know Philip, and moreover who are not in great estimation in

[u] "Invocatio."

that kingdom. For all those who have influence there, are exceedingly well disposed towards Philip. However, I should much like to see what it is that has been written from England.

I am taking care to have a copy made of the account of our ceremonies which I sent into England: as soon as it is finished I will transmit it to you. The English have already driven out of the Kingdom, the mass, celibacy, and idols.[u] . . . .

Embden, February 19, 1548.

[JOHN À LASCO.]

XII.

MELANCTHON TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.[v]

WITTENBERG? *About*[w] *April* 1, 1548.

[Printed in Melancthoni Epist., Lib. iii., Ep. 42 *bis*, col. 523, edit. Londini, folio, 1642. Latin.]

† *Translation now first published.*

MOST REVEREND SIR,—Although Jonas, the father,[x] knew that his son[y] had already been received by you with singular kindness, nevertheless he wished me to write to you about his son, that you may be assured that we greatly value the favour you have

[u] Gerdes refers to Dan. Heinsius, Epist. Illust. Virorum, Cent. I., n. ix., p. 50.

[v] Strype gives a short account of, and a few extracts from, this letter. Cranmer, I., pp. 581, 582, 586, edit. Oxf. 1840.

[w] See the first paragraph of Melancthon's next letter, p. 44, below.

[x] Justus Jonas, the elder, was born in 1493. He was the intimate friend of Luther. He was one of the four persons who was appointed by Duke Frederick to give the judgment of the University of Wittenberg, on Luther's Treatise, "De Abroganda Missa." He was also one of the four who attended the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, summoned by Charles V. for the reformation of religion. He was present in Luther's chamber at his death, Feb. 17, 1546. In 1548, Cranmer set forth Jonas's "Catechism" in English. His works were included among prohibited heretical publications, by Queen Mary's proclamation, June 13, 1555. (Foxe vii. 127.) He died in that year. A detailed account of his Life is given by Melchior Adam (Vitæ Theolog. Germ., 1628, p. 258), and by Gerdes, Hist. Evang. Sæc. xvi. renov. 1744, p. 247.

[y] Jonas Justus, the younger, came to England, with letters commendatory from Melancthon to Cranmer. Sleidan, Book vii.

shewn him. I had no sooner done this, than the letter of his son Jonas arrived, in which he relates to me a certain conversation[z] of yours, on a Question, by no means obscure, but which has severely shaken the Churches, and will shake them still more severely, because those who bear rule[a] do not seek for true remedies in so momentous a matter.

I do not, however, desire in this letter to do any thing more than express my grief, which is so great, that it could not be exhausted, though I were to shed a flood of tears as large as our Elbe or your Thames.

You see what a multitude of explanations have been elaborated in former times, and are elaborated at this day; because a simple and sincere [appeal to] antiquity is neglected. But I omit a longer discussion at this time, not merely because the messengers are in haste, but because I do not love labyrinths; for you must be aware that it has always been my desire, on many subjects, that every thing should be completely disentangled.

I implore you to deliberate with good and truly learned men, both as to what should be determined, and as to what moderation may be expedient, in the first instance, in teaching. I could have wished, (as I wrote in a former[aa] letter,) both with regard to this question and to some other matters, that a Summary of necessary doctrine might be publicly set forth, without any private feeling; after the deliberations and decisions of pious and learned men, brought together for the discussion of those matters: so that no ambiguities should be left to posterity, as (μηλον εριδος) an apple of discord.

The Council of Trent makes its crafty Decrees, in order to protect its errors by ambiguous expressions. Such sophistry

[z] "Sermonem quendam tuum narrat." Strype justly observes, that we have no information as to what this Conversation related to; "whether it were concerning the necessity of Episcopal government, and Ordination, or concerning the use of Ceremonies in the Church, or about *the doctrine of the Sacrament*: this last I am apt to believe." (Cranmer, i., p. 582.) The original Latin does not enable us to ascertain whether the "Conversation" was only with the younger Jonas (as Strype supposes): it was probably a Conference with learned men, at which the young man was present;—this seems to be indicated by the words "*deliberatio vestra*," in the next letter to Cranmer, see below, p. 44.

[a] Strype thinks Melancthon meant "the Papal Clergy" (Cranmer, i. 582); but it would rather appear to indicate the Protestant Bishops.

[aa] This probably refers to a letter not preserved; though the subject is named also in the next letter, p. 45, which led Strype to conclude that the present letter was written *after* that of May 1.

ought to be far away from the Church. There is not the least absurdity in true things being proposed in right words: both the goodness of the matters themselves, and their perspicuous enunciation, would invite the attention of upright minds in every part of the world.

From the very first, the Stoical disputations in our country concerning Fate, were exceedingly disgusting, and prejudicial to discipline. Wherefore, I beseech you, bend your mind to some such formula of doctrine.

To return to Jonas. As you will see that he has no ordinary power of mind, that he has well learned the elements of all branches of Philosophy, has good manners, and is naturally endowed by God[b] with eloquence; I intreat you to permit me to commend him to you. We trust, by the blessing of God, that he will be greatly profitable and ornamental to the state. Farewell. In the year 1548.

[PHILIP MELANCTHON.]

To the Most Reverend, Thomas
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

XIII.

MELANCTHON TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.[c]

WITTENBERG? *May* 1, 1548.

[Printed in Melancthoni Epistolæ, lib. i., Ep. 66, col. 71, edit. folio. Londini, 1642. Latin.]

† *Translation now first published.*

MOST REVEREND SIR,—I replied a month ago to the letter which Jonas the son wrote to me concerning your conversation.[d] The more I think about your[e] deliberation, than which a more

[b] "Divinitus."

[c] Strype (Cranmer, i., 585) gives several quotations from this letter, which he calls Melancthon's "first letter" to Cranmer, "not long after pursued by a second." But the opening paragraph of this letter seems to shew that this was the *second* letter.

[d] "De sermone tuo mihi scripsit."

[e] "Vestram."

weighty and necessary among mankind cannot be set on foot, the more I hope, and desire to urge, that you will put forth a true and perspicuous Confession on the whole body of doctrine, the judgments of learned men having been compared, and their names being subscribed to it; in order that an illustrious testimony of doctrine, delivered with grave authority, may be extant among all nations, and that posterity may have a rule to follow. Such a Confession will not be very different from ours:[f] but I should be glad that a few articles should be introduced more clearly intelligible by posterity, lest ambiguities should hereafter give occasion to new disagreements.

The Emperor Charles is at this time proposing, and will probably publish, a compromise[g] of controversies: but, because he is endeavouring to bring into union those who widely differ, and thinks that this can be accomplished by laying down some general sentiment, which no one can reject on account of its generality, he is making shoes-to-fit-all-feet[h] which will excite new discords: he has, also, introduced some things which will confirm abuses. Far better it is, in the Church, to call a spade, a spade, than to throw ambiguous expressions before posterity; as in mythology it is said that the apple of strife (*εριδος*) was thrown before the Goddesses seated at a banquet. If there had been a clear consent among our Churches in Germany, we should not have fallen into these miseries. I therefore strongly exhort you to bestow much care and thought on this matter, for the true interest of the Churches. If you desire to have my judgment and vote, I will[i] cheerfully both hear the opinions of other learned men, and declare my own sentiment and its reasons in my turn, *τα μεν πειθων ταδε πειθομενος*, (mutually persuading and being persuaded,) as becomes a pious Con-

[f] The Augsburg Confession.

[g] "Moderatio"—meaning the INTERIM, laid before the Diet of Augsburg, May 15, 1548, and adopted in the name, but without the authority, of the Electoral College, by the Archbishop of Metz.

[h] "Cothurnos."

[i] Notwithstanding this intimation, Melancthon could not be persuaded to come to England for a Conference. We find Cranmer *reminding him of his declaration*, and urging him to come, Feb. 10, 1549 (Cranmer's Works, Letters, ii. 425, edit. Parker Society); and once more, March 27, 1552, when the English Articles were being drawn up (ii., 433).

ference. May truth, the glory of God, and the prosperity of the Church prevail; not any private feelings.

I have committed this letter to Eusebius Menius, son of Justus Menius, who long and piously has governed, and still governs, the Churches subject to John Frederick Duke of Saxony. He is distinguished for his learning in heavenly doctrine and philosophy, and has written many things useful for the Church. Living in a neighbourhood in which many defended the idols of Popery, and scattered about the poison of the Anabaptists; he piously and diligently put down these wolves. The son is the very image of the father, both in countenance and mind, and has united learning with good morals: he surpasses his father in having made himself well acquainted with mathematics, which he is able to teach with much applause in a thronged University. He would have gained an honourable post in these parts: but he could not bear to be a spectator of the calamities of his country in so sorrowful a time. Since the remains of doctrine were preserved in your Island in the Gothic periods of the Church, so now also we may hope that, in the midst of the tumults in Europe, literature may find some tranquil refuge [among you], for I trust your Britain will be kept in peace. I respectfully commend this Eusebius to your notice, and I pray you to show him kindness. He is qualified to instruct others in mathematics in a university; and I trust he will be of use to the Church, and an ornament wherever his station may be. I have no doubt that many are flocking to your country;[k] but I rely on your goodness and piety to assist such young men, excelling in genius and learning, the sons of distinguished persons who have well-deserved of the Church.

Fare well and happily. May 1, 1548.

[PHILIP MELANCTHON.]

To Thomas Bishop of Canterbury, in England.

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[k] "Multos istuc accedere."

XIV.

BULLINGER TO CALVIN.

ZURICH, *May* 26, 1548.

[Printed in Fueslin, Epistolæ ab Ecclesiæ Helveticæ Reformatoribus. Centuria prima, p. 255, 8vo., Tiguri, 1742.]

† *Translation now first published.*

LEARNED CALVIN, MY DEAR BROTHER,—I received your letter, written on the 1st of March, and sent by our ambassador on his return from France. I perceive what is your opinion concerning my answer; and therefore I refrain from repeating what I have once explained. However, God, who looks into the heart, is my witness that it is impossible for me, as an individual,[l] to think or to speak otherwise than I have spoken and thought. I acknowledge, that Christ in His Spirit communicates Himself whole to us by faith, as far as is necessary for our obtaining salvation and living religiously: This is what is signified to us by Sacraments, and sealed in a manner peculiar to Sacraments; as it is also announced by the Word, and inculcated by testimony. . . . .

I fear that all is over with true religion in Germany: for Cæsar,[m] by the aid and consent of the Princes and Orders of the Empire, very few excepted, has framed an INTERIM: so they call that form of religion which all the Churches in Germany may follow in the *interim*, until the Pope is forced to open and to hold a general Council. However, that INTERIM is nothing else but Popery itself. I have seen the heads: I have seen also the answers of those Princes who call themselves Catholics. They accept the compromise: [only] think what a compromise that can be, which those impious men and vassals of Antichrist receive. They croak,[n] I don't know what, in the Articles, On each species, and On the marriage of Priests. I have seen also the policy[o] of Melancthon. O my God! how timid and

[l] "Solus."
[m] Charles V.
[n] "Cornicantur."
[o] "Concilium."

loose! Thus, however, does God teach us, not to confide, in the slightest degree, either in Princes, or in learned men, or in any human being.[p] Good it is, to hope in the Lord. I know that we must pray to Him without ceasing, that He would maintain His own cause. . . . .

I see that everything looks to and has a bearing upon this—that those who desire to be sincere in religion, are to be proved by fire and sword.

But I know that, in the issue, truth and piety will prevail. The Lord will not be wanting to His own.

The Article in the INTERIM, On the Sacraments, especially that on the Eucharist, is altogether Papistical. I conceive that this has not been done without [the direction of] Providence: that so, at length, Truth itself may be extorted.

May the Lord be present to His Church, and keep you in His holy Name! Farewell. Salute your house, and your fellow-ministers. Zurich, May 26, 1548.

Thine,

BULLINGER.

XV.

CALVIN TO BULLINGER.

GENEVA, *June* 26, 1548.

[Printed in Fueslin, Epistolæ, &c. Centuria prima, p. 259, 8vo., Zurich, 1742.]

† *Translation now first published.*

YOUR letter was delivered to me on the eighth day after I returned home. . . . . As to your little Book, of which you make mention, I wish, my Bullinger, that you and your colleagues had not felt reluctance to confer verbally with us,[q] as we were so lately among you, on the whole of that subject in a calm way; certainly something would have been accomplished. For, truly, I did not go there dressed for a theatrical display, which

[p] "Carni."

[q] Namely, with Calvin and Farell.

is not less displeasing to me than to you: I say nothing of Farell, for you well know how greatly his disposition is abhorrent from ostentation. But we wished to discuss those matters with you, on which we do not altogether agree, familiarly, without the slightest desire of rivalry. That, undoubtedly, would have been the best method among brethren; and, if I do not greatly mistake, we should have found it very profitable.[r]

For, as respects Sacraments, generally: we neither tie the grace of God to them, nor do we transfer to them the office and influence of the Holy Spirit, nor do we place our confidence of salvation in them. For we expressly declare, that it is God only who works by Sacraments; we refer the whole efficacy to the Holy Spirit; and we testify, that this influence does not appear in any but the elect: we teach, that Sacraments profit in no other way than by leading us by the hand to Christ, in order that we may seek in Him whatever is good. I cannot see what you can justly find deficient in this doctrine; which declares that salvation is to be sought solely from Christ, which makes God its sole author, and which affirms that it is to be obtained by the sole and secret operation of the Spirit.

But we teach, that Sacraments are the instruments of the grace of God. Undoubtedly: since they were instituted for a certain end, we deny that their proper use can be ineffectual.[s] Hence we say that that which is figured by them is *exhibited* to the elect; lest God should be believed to mock our eyes with a fallacious sight.[t] So he who receives[u] Baptism with a true faith, receives[v] also, we say, remission of sins;—but we add at the same time this explanation,—(lest any one should ascribe to Baptism the cause of his salvation,—) that that remission comes[w] from the blood of Christ, and is not *conferred* by Baptism in any other [sense] than that it [Baptism] is the testimony of that washing which the Son of God obtained for us by His blood shed on the cross, which He offers to be enjoyed by the faith of His Gospel, and which He perfects in our hearts by His Spirit. We hold the same sentiment as to Renovation. When, in the

[r] The reader will bear in mind that this favourable result *did* soon follow; for the celebrated "Consent" on doctrine between the Churches of Zurich and Geneva took place, August 30, 1549.

[s] "Otiosum." [t] "Spectaculo." [u] "Recipit."

[v] "Percipit." [w] "Provenire."

Supper, the signs of the flesh and of the blood of Christ are held out[x] to us, we say, that they are not held out in vain so that the Thing itself also is not actually before us.[y] Whence it follows, that we eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ.

Thus expressing ourselves, we neither make the Thing out of the Sign; nor do we confound each of them in one; nor again do we imagine that it is [z] infinite [? without limits]; nor do we dream of a carnal transfusion of Christ into us; nor do we lay down any other such fancy.

You say, that Christ is in heaven as regards His human nature: we acknowledge the same.—The word, heaven, conveys to your ears the impression of distance of place: we, also, willingly embrace that [opinion]; that Christ is at a distance from us by the interval of places.—You deny that the Body of Christ is without [a] limits; but [affirm] that it is contained within its own circumference: we assent; aye, and we, undisguisedly and openly, declare this.—You deny that the Sign is to be mingled with the Thing: we diligently inculcate that the one is to be distinguished from the other.—You sharply condemn [the notion of] impanation: we subscribe [to your decision].—To what, then, does our opinion amount? [To this.] Since here upon earth we see Bread and Wine, [we hold] that our minds are to be lifted up into heaven, that we may enjoy Christ; and that *then* Christ is present to us, when we seek Him above the elements of this world. For it is not permitted us to suspect that Christ is deceiving us; which would be the case, unless we hold that truth is exhibited to us together with the Sign: and even you yourselves allow that the Sign is by no means an empty[b] one. It remains only for us to define what it contains. To this we briefly answer:—We are made partakers of the flesh and blood of Christ, so that He dwells in us and we in Him, and in this way enjoy all His good things. I ask, what is there either absurd or obscure in these expressions? especially since we exclude, in express words, whatever wild imaginations[c] might enter the mind. And yet we are severely criticised, as though

[x] "Porrigi." [y] "Res nobis ipsa constet."

[z] "Infinitum esse fingimus:" the sentence seems a little obscure, but probably alludes to the *Ubiquitarian* doctrine of Brentius, the *unlimited* diffusion of the Body of Christ.

[a] "Infinitum." [b] "Inane." [c] "Delyria."

we had departed from the simple and pure doctrine of the Gospel. But I should like to know, What is that simplicity to which we are challenged to return? When I was recently among you, I urged the same question: you will recollect, I think, that no answer was given. I do not say this so much for the sake of expostulating, as with a view to make a formal declaration that some good men suspect us without the slightest reason.

Moreover, as I reminded you on another occasion, we lie under some displeasure by reason of the intercourse which we have cultivated with Bucer. Let me ask you, my Bullinger, for what reason should we be alienated from Bucer, since he subscribes to this our Confession which I have stated? At this moment I refrain from insisting on the very rare and many excellencies of that distinguished man: I will only say, that I should do a grave injury to the Church of God, were I to hate or despise such a man. I am silent as to my private obligation to him: and yet, I so love and respect him, that I freely give him advice whenever I see fit. Much more just is his complaint of you;—that you withheld the Sacred Supper in your Church from some young Zurichers, resident at Strasburgh, though no other Confession than your own had been exacted from them. I see no reason, in this matter, why the Churches should be thus torn asunder. But, for what reason should any pious man be displeased with us, if we cultivate friendship with a man who declares that, if he be not your friend and your brother, the fault is not on his side? But, since the hinge turns on this [pivot], shew, if you can, that my intimacy with Bucer is any impediment to the free declaration of my sentiments. It may possibly seem so; but I appeal to fact. Therefore, let us not entertain such suspicions, without reason. . . . .

Farewell, accomplished man, and honoured brother. I beg you will convey my regards to all your colleagues; to your wife; and to your whole family. May the Lord Jesus preserve and rule you all! Amen! As to the state of Constance, the intelligence is by no means agreeable: may the Lord look on them, and snatch them from the jaws of the Lion! Geneva, June 26, 1548.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

XVI.

À LASCO TO HARDENBERG.

EMBDEN, *July* 19, 1548.

[Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, Tom. II., P. ii., p. 644. 4to. Groningæ, 1750.]

† *Translation now first published.*

YESTERDAY I again received a letter from England, in which something is written about our Master Charles;[b] I have, therefore, written to him, and laid the matter before him; and I beg you to take care that my letter is delivered to him. The letter is dated the day after John the Baptist's day [June 25th].

Hitherto the English have prospered in Scotland, except that three of their fortifications in Scotland are besieged by the French fleet, for the relief of which 30,000 English have been sent. However, peace is certain between the French and English, except on the coasts of Scotland.

The Sacramentarian Controversy is begun to be agitated in that country among some persons; and a public disputation has been appointed in that matter, to which I am called[c] by the earnest prayers of many. Bucer[d] is expected; Our Thomas Dryander is already there; and there are whispers about Calvin,[e] but he is a Frenchman.

[b] Gerdes says that this person is Charles "Regius," and refers to Hist. Ref. Belg., § xl., p. 202, and § lxxiv., p. 255.

[c] Cranmer's Letter to J. à Lasco, inviting him to England to assist in "setting forth the true doctrine of God," dated July 4, 1548, is printed in his Works, Parker Soc. ed., Vol. II., p. 421. He came to England early in September; see Emmius, p. 396, and wrote to the Ministers at Embden, on October 6, from Windsor. He returned to Embden early in March, 1549. (See Gerdes, Scrinium Antiq. II., ii. 647.)

[d] Cranmer's invitation to Bucer is dated October 2, 1548. See Works, Vol. II., p. 423.

[e] Calvin does not appear to have been invited till March 20, 1552. See Cranmer's Works, Vol. II., p. 431.

There have been no movements at Strasburgh; but they have not received, nor will they receive, that INTERIM; no, nor will Augsburg, nor Nuremberg. There are no other news. Farewell. Embden, July 19, 1548.

YOU KNOW THE HAND.

XVII.

MARTYR TO UTENHOVEN.[f]

OXFORD, *September* 21, 1548.

[Holograph, Archives of the Belgic Church, Austin Friars, London. Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV., ii. 662. 4to. Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation now first published.*

GREETING. Since I have the opportunity of a sure messenger, I have judged it a good occasion of informing you how we are going on, and of restoring to you that little sum of money which I borrowed from you. You will therefore receive from this good man three French crowns, of good gold and of just weight. But since, both as regards letter-writing and other matters, I am (as Horace says,[g]) rude, undisciplined, and dull; I will not attempt to express my gratitude, though it is pleasant, sincere, and considerable, lest my words should be disagreeable, obscure, and insignificant: for this reason you must be content (not indeed to learn from this letter, but) to read in the tablets of my mind, as often as you please, what thanks I owe you,—thanks which will never be out of my recollection.

This town is at present free from the pestilence, so that, by the favour of God, I and my family are well; I desire, and should be exceedingly glad to hear, that the same blessing is

[f] John Utenhoven, a nobleman of Ghent, was elder of the Foreigners' or Belgic Church in London in 1550. He seems to have been now residing with Cranmer; afterwards with Hooper; and in 1550 with Micronius.

[g] Rusticus, abnormis, crassâque Minervâ. Hor. Sat., II., ii. 3.

granted to yourself. Therefore, if you love us, you will not be slow to reply, to inform us of your health, and to acknowledge the receipt of the money.

I wrote to Master Doctor Ponet,[h] as you requested, and not coldly; hence, if you should occasionally see him, salute him in my name.

Julius[i] is very desirous of writing to you, but his unaccommodating arm does not allow him. We are not a little apprehensive that the bones have not been well adapted to the elbow; for he has not recovered its use, and possibly it may be necessary that it should be again pulled out of its socket, in order that the joint may come into its place. He is not on this account so depressed, as to be disquieted in mind, or to forget his friends; but he wishes that I would in his name convey his salutations to you. My wife desires me to do the same. In conclusion: we trust that you, and all the good people with you, are prospering in the Lord. You cannot gratify and please us more, than by writing to tell us how you are going on.

Oxford, September 21, 1548.

Yours heartily,

PETER MARTYR.

To his dearest Friend, the Noble and Pious Man, Master John Utenhoven, Canterbury, at the House of the Most Reverend [the Archbishop].

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[h] Ponet was then Bishop of Rochester.

[i] Julius Terrentianus, an Italian, came into England with Martyr, 17 Dec., 1547.

XVIII.

CALVIN TO THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.[k]

GENEVA, *October* 22, 1548.

[French: copy in the Imperial Library, Dupuy's Collection, Vol. 102, from which it was printed by Bonnet, Lettres de Calvin, i. 261, 8vo., Paris, 1854.—Latin (Beza's translation): Calvini Epistolæ, Opera, ix. 39, col. 1, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation from the French, now first published.*[l]

MY LORD.—Although God has furnished you with singular prudence, firmness, and other qualities essential to the Office in which He has established you, and to the conduct of the affairs which He has committed to your hand; yet, since you acknowledge me as a servant of His Son whom you desire above all things to obey, I am confident that, for His sake, you will give a kind reception to what I write to you in His name; since in fact I have no other motive than this—that, in the prosecution of the work you have begun, you should more and more promote His honour, until you have established His Kingdom in such perfection as it is possible for it to attain on earth. On perusing what I have written, you will perceive that, without proposing any thing of my own, all has been drawn from His pure teaching. If I were to look merely to the dignity and greatness of your condition, there would be no approach for a man of my quality:

[k] Five letters are known to have been written by Calvin to the Duke of Somerset; of which three only appear to remain. (1.) Oct. 22, 1548, as above. (2.) About September, 1549; named in a letter to Bucer, October of that year, Calvini Op. ix. 49; *not extant.* (3.) About February, 1550, in French, printed by Bonnet, i. 305; an English translation in Original Letters, Parker Society, 704. (4.) About April, 1551, named in a letter to Farell, June 15 of that year, Calvini Op. ix. 240; *not extant.* (5.) July 25, 1551, in French, printed in Strype's Cranmer, 892, No. 58, and in Bonnet, i. 332.

[l] Burnet gives a very short account of this interesting letter; History of the Reformation, Vol. II., Part II., Book i., p. 162, edit. Oxford, 8vo., 1816.—See also a short account of it in Dyer's Life of Calvin, p. 283.—Beza's Latin version is paraphrastic, and does not always express the sense of the original French.

but since you do not despise the teaching of that Master whom I serve, but rather esteem above all things the grace which had made you one of His disciples, it seems needless for me to make a long apology and preface; for I am persuaded that you are well disposed to receive whatever comes from Him.

Now, we have all reason to render thanks to our God and Father, that He has condescended to make use of your efforts in so excellent a work, as the restoration of the pure and right administration of His service in England by your means: and that He has brought it to pass that the doctrine of salvation has free course, and is faithfully announced to all who are willing to lend an ear: moreover, that He has endued you with such firmness and constancy, that you have persevered hitherto in the midst of so many trials and difficulties; and that He has strengthened you by His powerful hand, blessing and prospering all your counsels and labours. These are things which excite all the truly faithful to magnify His Name.

But since Satan never ceases to excite new battles; and since it is one of the most difficult things to gain for the truth of God a peaceful dominion among men, who by nature are addicted to what is false: since, also, there are circumstances which retard its progress at this time, especially the superstitions of Antichrist, which have taken root so long that it is almost impossible to pluck them out of the heart:—on these accounts it appears to me that you have great need to be confirmed by holy exhortations. I do not doubt that experience has made you sensible of this; and this induces me to express myself with the greater frankness since my thoughts correspond, I trust, with your own desire. Even though my exhortations may be superfluous, you cannot but approve the zeal and anxiety which have induced me to submit them to you. However, I have still stronger reason to believe that the necessity which you yourself feel, will ensure for me a yet more favourable reception. However that may be, my Lord, I intreat you to give a patient hearing to the few suggestions which I propose briefly to lay before you; and I trust that, when you have attentively considered them, they will administer at least some little drop of comfort to you, and animate you to persevere more courageously than ever in that holy and noble enterprise for the accomplishment of which it has pleased God thus far to make use of your services.

I cannot doubt that those great disturbances which have taken place for some time past, have been the cause of much trouble and distress to you; especially since many persons have hence taken occasion for scandal; inasmuch as they were stirred up in some measure under the pretext ("*umbre*") of a change in religion. It was impossible but that this should have been a severe shock to you; both as regards your own private reflections, the murmurs of the evil-disposed and ignorant, and the consternation of the pious. Certainly, the noise of these events which has reached me from a distance, occasioned me great anguish of heart, until I knew that God had begun to apply some remedy. Nevertheless, since they cannot yet have been altogether settled, or at least since it may not be difficult for The Devil to renew them, call to mind what the sacred historian (2 Chronicles xxxii.) records of the good King Hezekiah; who, after he had banished superstitions from Judæa, and had reformed the state of the Church agreeably to the law of God, was so oppressed by his enemies that he might have been considered as a man in a lost and deplorable condition. It is not without reason that The Holy Spirit has emphatically brought to our notice the fact, that this affliction came upon him at the very time when he had established the order of true religion. For it might have been expected, that, when he was so heartily engaged in establishing the Kingdom of God, his own kingdom would have been kept in tranquillity. Thus all faithful Princes and Rulers are admonished by his example; that, though they may take great pains to abolish idolatry, and to establish the true worship of God, as is their duty, yet their faith may be subjected to trial by various temptations. Thus God permits and wills, that He may manifest the constancy of His [own], and that He may teach them to look higher than the world. In the mean time, The Devil, also, does his part, endeavouring to subvert good doctrine by oblique means, and by working (as it were) underground, whenever he cannot openly accomplish his end. But, following the admonition of St. James (James v. 11), who tells us that considering "the patience of Job," we should look at the "end," so does it become us, my Lord, to cast our eyes upon the issue which was granted to this good King. God succoured him in all his perplexities, and he became victorious in the end. Hence, since His hand is not shortened, neither is the

vindication of His truth and the preservation of His own less dear to Him now than it always was, doubt not that He will come to succour you,—not only in a single attack, but in as many temptations as He may send you.

We ought not to think it strange, that the greater part of mankind resist the Gospel, and even strive with all manner of rage and violence to prevent its advancement. For such has ever been and still is the ingratitude of men, that, when God approaches them, they draw back; and when He wishes to place His yoke on them, they kick against Him. Moreover, since by nature they are addicted to hypocrisy, they cannot bear to be brought to the light of God's Word, which shews them their turpitude and shame, or to be dragged out of their superstitions, which serve as a hiding-place to overshadow them. Hence, it is no new thing that contradiction should be manifested, whenever efforts are made to bring men back to the pure obedience of God. Moreover, we have the forewarning of our Lord Jesus, that He has brought the sword with His Gospel. This, however, should not astonish us, nor render us negligent or timid: for, at length, when men shall have fully risen in rebellion, and shall have foamed out all boisterous [n]passions, they shall be confounded in a moment, and be destroyed by their own impetuosity. In truth, as it is said in the second Psalm, God only "laughs" at their rage: that is, He winks, as it were, and leaves them to tempestuate, as though the matter did not at all belong to Him. But at length they shall be crushed by His power; whilst we, if armed by the same, shall have a good and Invincible Defence, however hostile may be the designs of Satan: and in the end we shall know by experience that the Gospel is not only a message of peace and reconciliation between God and us, but conduces to the establishment of peace among men; and thus we shall feel that the Lord has not said in vain by Isaiah (Isaiah ii. 4), that, when the Kingdom of Christ shall have been set up among us by His doctrine, "swords shall be" transformed "into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks."

In the meantime, although the malice and rebellion of men occasion seditions and disturbances to rise up against the Gospel, —yet it becomes us to look to ourselves, and to acknowledge that the Lord chastises our faults by those who have no other

[n] "Bouillons;" boilings.

design than to serve Satan. It is an old complaint, that the Gospel has been the cause of all the evils and calamities which have befallen the human race. In fact, it is clear from history that, very soon after Christianity was dispersed over the world, almost every corner of it has been dreadfully afflicted. Wars spread like a universal conflagration, in every country. In one quarter floods; in another pestilences and famines; an enormous confusion of order and government;—so that it seemed as if the world itself were about to break up in ruins. We have also seen, in our time, since the Gospel began to be re-established, that much wretchedness has prevailed; so that every one has complained that we live in an unhappy age, and there are few who do not groan under this burden. Now, while we feel these strokes, we ought to look at the Hand of Him who smites us, and we ought also to reflect for what cause. The cause which induces Him to make us thus feel His rods, is neither obscure, nor difficult to understand. We know that the word by which He would guide us to salvation, is an inestimable treasure. With what reverence do we receive it, when it is presented to us? Since, then, we hold in no great esteem that which is so precious, God has good reason for punishing our ingratitude. We hear, also, what Jesus Christ declares (Luke xii. 47), "That servant which knew his Lord's will, and did not according to His will, shall be beaten with many stripes." Since we are so slothful in obeying the will of our God, which has been declared to us a hundred-fold more than in former times, do not let us think it strange if His wrath be displayed more severely against us, since we are more inexcusable. Since we do not take care to give increase to the good seed, it is just that the thistles and thorns of Satan should multiply to harass and wound us. Since we do not render to our Creator the subjection which is due to Him, it is no wonder that men rise up against us.

As I am informed, my Lord, you have two kinds of sedition which have sprung up against the King and the constitution of his kingdom. One party consists of fantastical people who, under colour of the Gospel, would throw everything into confusion. The other party is obstinate in the superstitions of the Roman Antichrist. Both the one and the other deserve to be restrained by the sword [*le glaive*] which is committed to you; since they make an attack, not only on the King, but on God,

who has seated him on his Royal Seat, and who has committed to you the protection both of his person and of his Majesty.[o] But the principal means are,—to take care, as far as possible, that those who have been led, by a taste of the Gospel, to adhere to it, should receive it with such humility and fear as to renounce themselves for the service of God. For they ought to reflect, that God desires to awaken them all to profit better in the true knowledge of His Word, than they have yet done. These madmen [*forcenés*] who would have the world tack about [*se revirast*] to a disorderly licentiousness, are suborned by Satan to bring discredit on the Gospel, as if it engendered nothing but rebellion against Princes, and all sorts of dissipation in human life: a matter which ought to cause all the faithful to sigh.[p] Papists, by wishing to maintain the filth and abominations of their Roman Idol, shew themselves to be the manifest enemies of the grace of Jesus Christ, and of all His institutions. This, also, ought to occasion great grief of heart to all those who have a single drop of sincere zeal. Wherefore they ought universally to reflect, that these are are so many rods by which God is speaking to them. And for what reason? except that they do not give proof of the efficacy of the doctrine of salvation, as it becomes them. Thus, the principal remedy for allaying such

[o] In allusion to this celebrated passage, Mr. Dyer remarks:—"This letter contains a remarkable passage in which Calvin recommends the Protector to repress the mutinous Papists and Anabaptists by the sword. It will be recollected that in the following year a commission issued for trying Anabaptists, under which Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, was burned. *Can it be that the mind of the English Primate was fortified in this course* by the advice and opinion of so great a theologian as Calvin, even so as to resist the tears and supplications of the young King, and to light up the first fire of persecution in a Reformed country?" (Life of Calvin, p. 285, London, 1854.) Had Mr. Dyer looked into *this* matter, with the research for which his Life of Calvin is generally distinguished, he would not have added *his* authority to this apocryphal statement of the reluctant young King having decided on this execution by the persuasion of Cranmer, who was guiltless of that atrocity. The influence alleged to have been used by Cranmer, rests upon a mistake of Foxe (Martyrs, v., 699, edit. London, 1846); and "the tears" of the King are a mere romance, carelessly repeated by one author after another without pretence of historical authority. Mr. Bruce has shewn that the warrant of execution was signed, not by the King, but by the Council, April 27, 1550, upon a writ issuing out of Chancery; and that Cranmer was not present. See Mr. Bruce's remarks, prefixed to the Works of Roger Hutchinson, p. v., Parker Society's edition, 1842.

[p] Beza's Latin adds,—"while they implore light from the Lord, who sooner or later will assuredly disperse this darkness."

seditions, is this;—for those who profess the Gospel, being truly restored after the image of God, to show that our Christianity causes no dissipation in human life; to give good proof, by their moderation and temperance, that, being governed by the Word of God, we are not disorderly and unbridled people; and, by their good and holy life, to shut the mouths of gainsayers. For, by this means, God being appeased will withdraw His hand; and, instead of punishing, as He now does, their contempt of His Word, He will bless their obedience by sending full prosperity. Noblemen and magistrates should submit themselves duly and humbly to this great King Jesus Christ, rendering Him entire and undissembled homage with their body and with all they possess; in order that He may correct and beat down the arrogance and rashness of those who would rise up against them. This is the way in which earthly Princes ought to govern and reign; serving Jesus Christ, and upholding his sovereign authority over all, small and great. Wherefore, my Lord, as you value and cherish the state of the King your nephew (and you have given good proof that you do), I implore you, in the name of God, to apply your principal care and vigilance to this point,—that the doctrine of God be preached with an efficacy and power which may produce fruit; and never to rest, under all circumstances, until you have accomplished a full and entire Reformation of the Church.

In order that you may better understand my plan, I will treat the whole matter under three heads:—

I. The first shall be, on the method of rightly instructing the people in doctrine. II. The second shall be, on the extirpation of abuses which have hitherto prevailed. III. The third, on the careful correction of vices, and on a resolute repression of scandals and dissolute practices, so that the name of God be not blasphemed.

I. As to the first head, it is needless for me to point out to you *what doctrine ought to be inculcated.* Rather, I thank our gracious God, that, after having enlightened you with a pure knowledge of Himself, He has given you wisdom and discretion to cause His pure truth to be preached. God be praised, you have not to learn what is the true faith of Christians, and the

doctrines which they ought to hold; since it is through your means that the true purity of the faith has been restored. It is, to have God as the only Governor of our souls; to have His law as the only rule and spiritual regulator of our consciences, in order that we may not serve Him after the foolish inventions of men. Moreover, we are to serve Him, agreeably to His nature, in spirit and in purity of. heart. On the other hand, knowing that there is nothing in us but wretchedness, and that we are corrupt in all our senses and affections, in such sort that our souls are one abyss of misery; we must despair of ourselves, annihilate all presumption of our own wisdom, dignity, or power to do what is good, and hasten to the fountain of all good, Jesus Christ, to receive what He gives us, namely, the merit of His death and passion, that thus we may be reconciled to God. Washed by His blood, we have no fear that our spots shall hinder our finding grace at the celestial throne; being certain that our sins are freely pardoned by virtue of His sacrifice, we there put our trust and reliance for the assurance of our salvation. Being sanctified by His Spirit, we devote ourselves to the obedience of the righteousness of God. Being confirmed by His grace, we are conquerors over Satan, the world, and the flesh. Finally, being members of His body, we do not doubt that God will reckon us among His children, and therefore we call on Him with confidence as our Father. We ought to be admonished, to consider all that is said and done in the Church as conducive to this end—that being drawn away from the world, we may be elevated to heaven with our Head and Saviour. Since, then, God has given you grace to re-establish the knowledge of this doctrine, which had been so long buried by Antichrist, I deem it superfluous to detain you longer on this subject.

As to the manner of teaching, on which I touched, it may suffice to say, that the people should be so instructed as to be touched to the quick, and to feel what the Apostle says (see Heb. iv. 12), that the Word of God is a two-edged sword, piercing the thoughts and affections even to the marrow of the bones. I say this, my Lord, because it appears to me that there is very little lively preaching in the kingdom, but most ministers recite as if reading a lecture. I see clearly the necessity which constrains you to that course. For, firstly, you have not, I

believe, such good and suitable Ministers as you could wish; wherefore, you must supply this defect. Secondly, there may possibly be many flighty spirits, inclined to extravagancies, disseminating foolish fancies; as often happens in new matters. But none of these considerations ought to hinder the institution of Christ, with regard to preaching the Gospel, from having its due course. Now this preaching ought not to be dead, but lively, for doctrine, exhortation, reproof, as St. Paul speaks of it to Timothy (2 Tim. iii. 15): so that if an unbeliever comes in, he is judged and convinced to give glory to God, as he says in another passage (1 Cor. xiv. 25). You know, also, my Lord, how he speaks of the energy which ought to be in the mouth of those who would approve themselves as good and faithful ministers of God (1 Cor. iii. 1—6, 2 Cor. vi. 4); who ought not to exhibit a parade of rhetoric, to gain credit for themselves; but the Spirit of God ought to resound in their voice, to work effectually. None of the dangers one might apprehend, ought to restrain the liberty and free course of the Spirit of God in those to whom He has dispensed His graces for the edification of the Church.

True it is, however, that it is useful and expedient to check the levity of men of fantastic spirit, who take too great license; and also to shut the door on all curious notions (*curiosités*) and new doctrines: but the good and proper mode of doing this, is that which God has shewn us. First of all, there should be a distinct Summary (*une Somme resolu*) of doctrine[q] which all should be

[q] In the summer of this very year, in which Calvin urged on the Lord Protector the importance of a Code of Doctrine, Cranmer had invited some of the most pious and learned of the Continental Divines to attend a Synod in England for an agreement upon this subject. He addressed an invitation to Melancthon, about October, 1547, not preserved, a second February 10th, 1548 (Cranmer's Works, ii., 425, edit. Parker Society); followed by a third, not known to be extant: another to John à Lasco, July 4th, 1548 (Cranmer ii., 420): another to Hardenberg, July 28th, 1548: he renewed the subject in a letter to Bullinger, March 20th, 1552 (Cranmer ii., 430): to Calvin on the same day (ii., 431): and to Melancthon, March 27th (ii., 433). Calvin's undated Reply, about June, 1552, is printed in his works (Calvini Opera IX., Epist. p. 61, col. 2, edit. Amstelodami, 1667), and in Cranmer's Letters (Works ii., 432, note), in Latin, of which a translation is printed below. None of the foreign Divines attended the proposed Conference. The XLII. English Articles were agreed on towards the close of 1552, and were published in May, 1553.

bound to preach—which all Prelates and Curates[r] should swear to follow; and no one should be admitted to an Ecclesiastical Charge, who has not promised to observe this [bond of] union. Next, a common Formulary of Instruction for little children and uneducated people; which would render sound doctrine familiar to them, and would enable them to distinguish it from those lies and corruptions which may be introduced in opposition to it. Be assured, my Lord, that the Church of God will never preserve itself without a Catechism; for it is, as it were, the sowing which preserves the good seed from perishing, and which causes it to increase from age to age. If you desire to build an edifice which shall endure for a long period, and which shall not soon fall in ruin, take care that children be introduced to a good Catechism,[s] which may shew them briefly, and according to their little capacity (*leur petitesse*), in what true Christianity consists. This Catechism will serve two purposes: it will be an Introduction to all the people, enabling them more fully to profit by preaching; and it will teach them to discover strange doctrine, if any presumptuous persons should thrust it forward.

I do not say that it may not be useful and even necessary to confine Ministers and Curates to a certain prescribed Form [of Prayer]; firstly, to supply what is wanted by the ignorance and simplicity of some; secondly, to give a better evidence of conformity and agreement between all the Churches; thirdly, to cut off every handle[t] for every curious notion (*curiosité*) and new invention of those who would fain be extravagant,—as I have already said, that the Catechism will tend to bridle such persons.

Of so much importance is the mode and manner of administering the Sacraments, and of conducting Public Prayer. But, be this as it may; such a polity is not intended to enfeeble the due efficacy of preaching the Gospel. Rather, use every effort within your reach, to procure good trumpeters, who shall enter even to the deep recess of the heart. For there is great danger

[r] "Curés:" those who have the cure of souls.

[s] The first English Catechism was set forth only four months after this advice, in the first Liturgy of King Edward VI., March, 1549. It was composed by Ponet, Bishop of Winchester; and corresponds with that now in use, except that it has not the latter part relating to the two Sacraments, which was added by Bishop Overall after the Hampton Court Conference, about 1604.

[t] "Couper la broche."

lest you should not see any great profit from all the Reformation you have accomplished, however good and holy it may be, unless this power of preaching be efficaciously put forth. It is not without reason that it was said concerning Jesus Christ, "He shall smite the earth with the rod (*sceptre*) of His mouth, and with the breath of His lips shall He slay the wicked." (Isaiah xi. 4.) This is the method by which He desires to subdue us, by destroying everything which opposes Him. And here we see, also, why the Gospel is called the Kingdom of God. Thus, although the edicts and statutes of Princes may be excellent aids for advancing and maintaining the establishment of Christianity, nevertheless God always chooses to make manifest His sovereign power by the spiritual sword of His Word as proclaimed by His ministers.

II. Not to weary you, my Lord, I now come to the second point on which I proposed to touch; namely, *the abolition and entire extirpation of abuses and corruptions* which Satan has mingled in former times with the institutions of God.

We know that under the Pope there is a spurious Christianity, and that God will disown it at the last day, because He now condemns it by His Word. If we would draw the world out of this abyss, there is nothing better than to follow the example of St. Paul, who, wishing to correct the abuses which the Corinthians had introduced into our Lord's Supper, said to them (1 Cor. xi. 23), "I have RECEIVED OF THE LORD that which also I have delivered unto you." From that, we ought to gather a general precept,—to return to the strict and simple command of God, if we would have a good Reformation, and one approved by Him. For all the admixtures which men have introduced from their own imaginations, are so many pollutions which turn us aside from the holy institutions (*usages*) which God has given us to promote our salvation. Hence, to lop off only half of these abuses, is not to reduce these things to purity; for we still shall have a disguised Christianity. I thus express myself, because there are some who, under the pretext (*umbre*) of moderation, are of opinion that we ought to spare many abuses without touching them, and that it will be enough if we root up the chief. But, on the contrary, we see how fertile is the seed-plot of lies; and that it needs but a single grain to fill the world

in a very few (*trois*) days; since mankind are inclined and disposed to [adopt] them. Our Lord teaches us to act in a different way; for when David speaks of idols he says (Psalm xvi. 4), "I will not take up their names within my lips," to shew in what detestation we ought to have them. Especially when we consider how we have offended God in the time of our ignorance, we ought to be doubly careful to flee from the inventions of Satan, who tempted us to do what was wrong, as from snares set to catch souls. On the other hand we see, that, when we point out to men their faults and errors, and when we take every opportunity of warning them, they are nevertheless so hardened that we cannot accomplish our desires. When, therefore, we leave them some remains, these will become food for still greater obstinacy, and will be as a veil to obscure all the doctrine we might wish to inculcate. I readily allow that we ought to observe moderation, and that to push such matters to extremes is neither wise nor useful; I even admit that ceremonies must be accommodated to the rude capacity of the people: but nothing must be tolerated under that pretext (*couleur*) which is from Satan or Antichrist. And this is the reason why Holy Scripture, when praising kings who had overthrown idolatries, but had not utterly effaced them, brands them with this mark, that nevertheless they "did not remove" Chapels and "Places" of foolish devotion.[u]

Wherefore, my Lord, since God has led you so far forward, I implore you to become in every respect a sincere repairer of His Temple; in such sort that the time of the King your nephew may resemble that of Josiah; and that everything be so established for him, that he may only have to maintain that good order which God has prepared for him through your instrumentality.

I will bring to your notice an instance of such corruptions as, if allowed to remain, may be as a little leaven which in the end may sour the dough. In the Communion of our Lord's Supper, a prayer[v] for the dead is made; which may have the

[u] See 1 Kings xv. 14, xxii. 43; 2 Kings xii. 3, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35.

[v] In King Edward's first Liturgy, published in March, 1549, about four months after the date of this letter, (and which, it seems from this observation, had already met Calvin's eye,) the following passage occurs in the Prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church."—"We commend unto Thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants which are departed hence from us with the sign

effect I have named. I am well aware, that the intention of this was not to sanction a Popish Purgatory. I am also aware that the ancient custom may be alleged of commemorating the departed, with a view to unite together all the members of the body. But there is that peremptory argument on the other side, that the Supper of Jesus Christ is an act so sacred, that it ought not to be defiled by any human inventions. Moreover, when we pray to God, we must not give the reins to our devotions, but keep closely to the rule which St. Paul gives us[w], which is that they should be founded in the Word of God. Now, such a commemoration as implies commendation [to God], is not suitable to the form of true and proper prayer, and is a bad addition to the Holy Supper of our Lord.

There are other things which possibly are less reprehensible; but which, nevertheless, do not admit of defence: as the ceremonies of the Chrisom[x] and of Unction. The Chrisom[x] was

of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy, and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they which be of the mystical body of Thy Son, may altogether be set on his right hand, and hear that most joyful voice: Come unto Me, all ye that be blessed of My Father, and possess the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate." This passage was entirely omitted in Edward's second Liturgy, 1552, and in those of 1559, and of 1604. At the last revision, 1662, mention of the departed was again introduced into the same place, but in the unobjectionable form of a Thanksgiving instead of a prayer. "We also bless Thy Holy name for all Thy servants departed this life," &c.

[w] Calvin's French letter makes the reference to Romans xx., which is clearly an error. Probably he meant to cite Rom. viii. 26, 27.—In Beza's Latin Version of this letter, the reference is made generally to "the holy Apostles," St. Paul not being specified.

[x] The Chrisom was a white vesture put upon the newly-baptized. The following is the Rubric in the Roman Ritual:—"Then he places on the head of the Elect, *the Chrisomal* or white cloth, and gives him the white vesture, saying: 'Take the white and immaculate vesture, which thou mayest bear before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou mayest have eternal life. Amen.'" The English Reformers adopted the following Rubric:—"Then the godfathers and godmothers shall take and lay their hands upon the child; and the minister shall put upon him his white vesture, commonly called *the Chrisom*, and say, 'Take this white vesture for a token of the innocency which by God's grace in this Holy Sacrament of Baptism is given unto thee; and for a sign whereby thou art admonished, as long as thou livest, to give thyself to innocency of living, that, after this transitory life, thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting. Amen.'"—First Liturgy of Edw. VI., 1549,

the invention of a frivolous fancy of persons who were not content with the institution of Jesus Christ, and who wished to counterfeit the Holy Spirit by a new Sign, as though Water were not sufficient to that end. Extreme Unction, as it was called, was retained by the inconsiderate zeal of those, who thought they were following the Apostles, while they had not the same gifts. For, when the Apostles used oil for the sick, it was for the purpose of a miraculous cure: when the miracle ceased, the Figure ought to have been discontinued. Wherefore it would be much better that all those things should be abolished; so that you might have nothing which is not conformed to the Word of God, and which does not minister to the edification of the Church. True it is, we ought to bear with the weak; but it should be to strengthen them, and to lead them on to greater perfection. However, this does not imply that we are to gratify fools, who long for this or that, without knowing why.

I know that some are restrained by the consideration, that it is to be feared that too great a change would not be tolerated; and that when we wish to cultivate friendship with neighbours, we must be willing to gratify them by lowering many of our desires. That may be allowable in worldly affairs, in which it is lawful to make mutual concessions, and to give up one's private right to secure peace: but the same liberty does not obtain in the spiritual government of the Church, which ought to be ordered according to the Word of God. Here, we have not liberty to concede anything to men, or to bend to their inclinations. Indeed, there is nothing more displeasing to God, than a desire to moderate or to retrench in conformity to our human discretion, or to advance or retreat without regard to His will. Wherefore, if we would not displease Him, we must close our eyes against all regard to men. As to dangers which may arise, we ought, indeed, to avoid them as much as we can, but not by departing from the right way. We have His promise, that He will assist

Office of Baptism. This was expunged from Edward's second Liturgy, 1552. Yet we find Ridley, at the end of 1550, pleading for it against Hooper! "If this reason should take place, 'The Apostles used it not, *ergo* it is not lawful for us to use it' .... then, our naming of the child in Baptism, our prayer upon him, our crossing, our threefold abrenunciation, and our *white chrisom*, all must be left, for these we cannot prove by God's Word, that the Apostles did use them."—Ridley's Reply to Hooper on the Vestments, inserted in Bradford's Works, ii., 383, Parker Soc., edit. 1853.

us if we go straight forward. Thus, it only remains for us to perform our duty, committing the result to Him. And see here, wherefore the wise of this world are often disappointed in their expectations; it is because God is not with them, since, scorning Him and His aid, they have recourse to oblique means, and such as He condemns. Would we, then, feel the power of God on our side?—let us follow simply what He says. Above all, we must lay this down as a maxim:—that the Reformation of the Church is the work of His hand; wherefore in this respect men must give themselves up to be guided by Him. Nay more:—both in the restitution and the conservation of His Church, He generally proceeds by some wonderful method, surpassing the comprehension of men. Wherefore, it is not reasonable that this Reformation, which is a Divine work, should be restrained by the measure of our judgment, and that a heavenly thing should be subjected to the earth and to the world. By this I do not mean to exclude prudence, which is very requisite for the adoption of good and proper means, so that we may not go to an extreme on either side, in our endeavours to gain the whole world for God, if it were possible. But the prudence of the Spirit, not of the flesh, should prevail; while we inquire at the mouth of the Lord, and pray that He alone may guide and direct us, instead of following our own judgment. If we act in this manner, it will be easy to cut off the occasion of temptations which might retard us in the middle of our course.

Wherefore, my Lord, as you have commenced the restoration of Christianity through the realm of England, not confiding in yourself, but seeking aid from the hand of God; and as hitherto you have felt that powerful hand; doubt not that it will yield you the same aid to the very end. If God maintains the Kingdoms and Principalities of unbelievers, who are His enemies, much more will He be the Safeguard of those who reign for Him and acknowledge Him as Supreme.

III. I now come to the third article, which is on *the chastisement of vices and the repression of scandals.*

I doubt not that there are good laws and excellent statutes in the Kingdom, for preserving the people in morality of life. But the great and enormous debaucheries which I see throughout the

world, constrain me to implore you to use your most anxious efforts that men may be brought under the restraints of a good and honest discipline. Chiefly, I urge you, to assert the honour of God, in the punishment of those vices of which mankind are not accustomed to make much account. I say this, because sometimes thefts, assaults, and extortions are severely punished, because they inflict injury on society; while fornications, adulteries, drunkenness, blaspheming the name of God, are tolerated as permissible things, or at least of little importance. Now let us hear, on the contrary, how God estimates these things. He has declared, how precious to Him is His Name: nevertheless it is torn, as it were, in pieces, and trodden under foot: it cannot, therefore, be, that He will leave such reproaches unpunished. And more than this, Scripture shews us, that a whole country is infected by blasphemies. As to adulteries, we who profess to be Christians ought to blush when we reflect, that the heathen are more rigorous in the punishment of them than we ourselves; and that sometimes they are made a mere matter of joke. When holy marriage, which ought to be considered as a lively image of that sacred union which we have with the Son of God, is polluted; when that alliance, which ought to be the strongest and most indissoluble of this world, is disloyally broken; if we take not this to heart, it is a sign that we have scarcely any zeal for God. Touching fornication, it ought to suffice us, that St. Paul has compared it to sacrilege; inasmuch as by this the temples of God, for such are our bodies, are prophaned; also that fornicators and drunkards are banished from the Kingdom of God [1 Cor. vi. 10, 11]; so that it is forbidden us to "company" (*converser*) with them [1 Cor. v. 9]; whence it follows that they ought not to be endured in the Church. Now, see here the cause of those scourges which are now in the world: for, if men mutually pardon such enormities, it must needs be that God should avenge them. Wherefore, in order to avert His wrath, I implore you, My Lord, to hold a tight rein upon them; and to employ your efforts that those who profess (*oyent*) Evangelical doctrine may approve themselves to be Christians by holiness of life. For as doctrine is the soul which animates the Church; so discipline and the correction of vices, are like the nerves which maintain the body in its health and vigour. It is the office of

Bishops and Curates to watch over this matter; in order that the Supper of our Lord may not be polluted by people of scandalous life. But, according to the authority committed to you by God, the principal responsibility (*charge*) rests with you to put others in train, so that each may discharge his duty, and see that the order which has been established be duly observed.

Now, my Lord, observing the protestation with which I began, I will not make a long apology, either for the prolixity of my letter, or for the freedom with which I have expressed what was in my heart. I am confident that your good sense (*prudence*) enables you to understand my motive; and, as you are familiar with Holy Scripture, you will perceive from what fountain I have drawn the contents of this letter. Wherefore, I have no fear that I shall seem to have been troublesome or importunate, in manifesting, according to my ability, my earnest desire that the name of God may always be extensively glorified through your means. It is my daily supplication in prayer to Him,—that He may be pleased to increase your graces; that He may confirm you by His Spirit in a true, invincible constancy; that He may support you against all enemies; that He may have you and your house in His holy protection; causing you so happily to administer the charge He has committed to you, that the King may have reason to bless this gracious God for his having had, during his minority (*enfance*), such a Protector (*Gouverneur*) both of his Person and of his Kingdom.

And thus I conclude, my Lord, after humbly commending myself to your good favour.

Geneva, this 22d of October, 1548.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

XIX.

BULLINGER TO CALVIN.

ZURICH, *December* 6, 1548.

[Copy in the Zurich Library, F. 80. 242; also in the Simler Collection, Stadt Biblioth., No. 68.—Printed (probably from one of those copies) in Fueslin, Epistolæ ab Ecclesiæ Helveticæ Reformatoribus, &c. Centuria prima, p. 266. Tiguri, 1742.]

† *Translation now first published.—Short Extract.*

CALVIN, learned man, and dearest brother: your letter has made me very anxious; as I told you in my last letter, which has not yet reached you. I will take care that D. Haller enquires after it, from the persons to whom he entrusted it. It would give me concern if it were lost, or, having been intercepted, should come into faithless hands.[y] Relieve me from this anxiety, if you have now received it. In that letter I replied to your last, in which you explain at length and by certain propositions what is your teaching on the Sacraments, more especially on the Supper of the Lord. You say something, also, about Bucer. . . . . In my reply I notice those Propositions, not to oppose your wishes, but to give you an opportunity of explaining your sentiments more clearly, in order that, if possible, we may think and speak the same thing. I kept a copy, of which I send you a transcript, but I cannot pledge myself that it is written out with absolute accuracy; and my business and haste do not allow me to collate it. Moveover, I have faithfully explained what it is that I desiderate in Bucer; and *that* is the matter about which I should be most concerned were it to fall into faithless[y] hands. . . . .

Undoubtedly the times are most dangerous. I am exceedingly desirous of seeing what you have written against the INTERIM of the Emperor. A certain Saxon has published two folios (? leaves) against the INTERIM, but they contain nothing but abuse. I do

[y] "Infidcles."

not hear that any one else is preparing anything against the INTERIM. I wrote something in German, but not with a view to publication. I made, also, a short oration against the INTERIM in the Church Synod (cœtu); but it is not worthy of public notice; nor am I confident that it could be printed here —so angry is our Magistracy on account of the publication of Gualter's Antichrist. . . . . Farewell, respected brother in the Lord. Specially salute the brethren, D. Farell, D. Viret, and others. D. Bibliander, Pellican, Gualter, Werdmüller, and particularly my neighbour and very dear brother, D. Musculus, salute you.

Zurich, 6 December, 1548.

[H. BULLINGER.]

XX.

MARTYR TO UTENHOVEN.

OXFORD, *January* 15, 1549.

[Holograph, Archives of the Belgic Church, Austin Friars, London. Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV. ii., p. 664.]

† *Translation now first published.*

GREETING. I received your letter, excellent man, very late, namely, on the 14th of January; I beg, therefore, that you will not find fault with me for appearing to reply so tardily: You would have heard from me sooner, had your letter been sooner received. You need not wonder that I returned you thanks for the money I borrowed, since it was my duty to do so, and not to be unmindful of your kindness. Scripture every where detests the ungrateful; and he who is displeased when he observes [forgetfulness of benefits] in other pious men, should be very careful that he be not himself chargeable with the same fault.

I will do my best, with regard to Walrand,[b] that your recommendation of him to me shall not be fruitless; but I can make no certain promise; for I see no prospects, at present, at Oxford. But when the Chancellor of this University shall come among us, which may be shortly, I will enter on this business with him as diligently as I can, and will inform you of the result. I have written in nearly the same terms to Walrand; I pray you take care that my letter be forwarded to him, except indeed he be with you.

You request that I will give you my opinion on the present state of matters connected with religion; I will do so with pleasure, as soon I have any accurate information. At present I am not aware that any thing has been decided; but all those who are enabled to know more about this matter, bid us to be of good courage, and give us hope that the matter will prosper exceedingly well. The Lord grant that such may be the event, speedily and peacefully. Our Most Reverend [Archbishop] fights strenuously, and with the highest commendation of all good men. I rejoice greatly, that your congregations and your preachings are within walls, and that you have sometimes meetings of pious men. May God give us at length to see a just increase of those blessings. I have no doubt that the devil looks with envy on these beginnings; but, since you are now a veteran in this warfare, you will endeavour faithfully and anxiously to bring it about that the wolf shall not triumph as a victor over the sheep. I see that there is nothing more difficult in the world than to found a Church. The stones are generally rough and very unpolished; hence, unless they are rendered plane and smooth by the Spirit, the Word, and examples of holy life, they cannot easily be made to fit each other. May the Lord grant, that, among us, there may be rightly planted a vine which in due time may produce fruit delicious both to men and to God.

Salute the brethren in my name; especially Francis,[c] of whose

[b] Valerandus Pollanus was minister of the Church of Strangers at Glastonbury, consisting of those who had fled from Strasburgh by reason of the Interim. In 1554, he became Pastor of the Church at Frankfort. See Strype's Mem. II. i. 378, &c.

[c] Francis Dryander.

indisposition I hear with regret, but with a good hope that he is now convalescent. Salute, in my name, and in my wife's, Master Walwich and his wife. My wife requests that you will take care that her letter goes with mine to Walrand: she sends her regards to you, and to Francis, in which our Julius joins.

Oxford, January 15, 1549.

[PETER MARTYR.]

To his dearest friend, the noble man,
Master John Utenhoven, at Canterbury.

XXI.

ALEXANDER TO BUCER.[d]

March 24, 1549.

[Printed in Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, p. 191, fol., Basil., 1577. Latin.]

† *Translation now first published*

GRACE and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Most distinguished Sir, I have received the letter which you kindly addressed to me a short time since; I have read it, not without grief of mind and the greatest sorrow, together with that[e] written by you to our Most Reverend Lord the Archbishop, which his eminency most courteously handed to me for perusal. Our Most Reverend Lord desired me to reply to it immediately, and to invite you here, in his own name, and in the name of that Most Illustrious Nobleman the Lord Protector, a very pious man, and one exceedingly desirous of extending and adorning the Christian religion; since some persons had informed them that you had been dismissed by the Strasburgh Senate, and

[d] See Archbishop Cranmer's Letter to Bucer, on the same subject, dated London, Oct. 2, 1548, in Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 19 (1846).

[e] Probably that letter, dated Dec. 23, 1548, which is printed in the Original Letters of the Parker Society, p. 532 (1847); or possibly the still more detailed letter on the Strasburgh declensions, Sept. 3, 1548, in Original Letters, p. 531.

that you had no longer an opportunity of filling any office at Strasburgh. Come, then, as soon as you possibly can, a person to be desired by us more than any one else; deserting Germany, which has ungratefully thrust you out together with Christ and His Word, and shaking the dust from your feet, seek another country, in which by your labour and by your industry you may profit the Church of Christ now just beginning to revive in this renowned kingdom, not less than in your native soil. Doubt not that you will receive a very liberal stipend for your labours; for you will receive one considerably larger than you yourself desire, and as much as will suffice for a very creditable support for yourself and yours. I have written, also, on this same matter to Master Paul Fagius, that he should come hither as quickly as he can. It is, however, our unanimous advice, that you should not undertake your journey together at this very dangerous time, on account of certain risks to be avoided. Forasmuch as [these] excellent men embrace you both with equal affection, they desire that you should be free from all sorts of danger, and they long to see you safe and sound in this kingdom as soon as possible. Make no delay therefore, most learned Sir, but hasten your journey to us, for you will be heartily greeted, on your arrival,[f] by all the good, especially by the Most Illustrious Nobleman the Lord Protector, and by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; by whose prudence and counsel the Reformation of the Churches, already commenced, is daily propagated, increased, and multiplied, to the glory of God's Name; and by whom, since they desire to promote the best interests of the Church of Christ, you, its principal member, will never be neglected. That good old man Master Latimer,[g] formerly Bishop,[h] but now the principal preacher before the King, salutes you; he earnestly desires to embrace you, and the like of you, as Simeon did Christ. Salute in my name your excellent wife, and all our other friends. Fare well and happily, most distinguished man, and love me as you do. At Lambeth, March 24th, in the year of the Salvation-giving-Birth, 1549.

[f] He arrived about the 22nd of April, and went to London on the 25th of that month. See his Letter to the Ministers of Strasburgh, dated from Lambeth, April 26, 1549, in Orig. Letters, Parker Soc., p. 534.

[g] "D. Lotimer." He was now, probably, 58.

[h] He resigned the See of Worcester, in 1539.

In this Parliament an Act has been passed[k] for the Marriage of the Clergy; and all Popish Masses have been *dis*-[l]missed to the new Monks of Germany.

Yours most lovingly,

PETER ALEXANDER.

XXII.

FAGIUS TO DR. JOHN MARBACH.[m]

LAMBETH, *April* 26,[n] 1549.

[From the original in the Marbach Library at Strasburg, printed by Fecht, in his Epistolæ Theologicæ, P. I., p. 8, at the end of his Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæc. XVI. Supplementum, 4to. Francofurti, 1684.]

† *Translation now first published.*

MAY Christ, the sole author of our salvation, keep you and all yours unto eternal life. Amen.

Most learned Sir, and respected Brother in Christ. I suppose you have already heard, by the letter which I sent to you from Calais by way of Antwerp, how happily we reached Calais, the

[k] It passed Feb. 19, 1549.

[l] "Missæ.....missæ sunt."

[m] John Marbach (or Marpach, for the name is spelt both ways even by the same writers,) was born at Lindau, April 13, 1521. He pursued his studies at Strasburgh, and at Wittenberg. He became intimately acquainted with Luther, and for some time lived under the same roof. In 1545 he was appointed Minister of St. Nicholas at Strasburgh, where he was made Professor of Theology in 1552. In 1557 he was nominated to the Deanery of the College of St. Thomas, a dignity formerly possessed by Bucer. He died 17th March, 1581. Marbach was a strenuous Lutheran, and a violent opponent of Calvin, Zanchy, &c. His loquacity occasioned Luther to say of him, that *no spider could weave a cobweb over the mouth of Marbach.*

[n] A letter from Fagius to Ulstetter, his son-in-law, of the same date, is printed in the Orig. Letters relating to the English Reformation, p. 332, Parker Society, 1846. That letter agrees verbably with this, as far as the words —"labourers into his harvest," line 21, in the next page. Another letter, of the same date, from Fagius and Bucer to the Ministers of Strasburgh, repeats much of the same matters: it is printed in Orig. Lett., p. 534. There are valuable passages in each, however, and in that here published, not to be found in the others.

frontier port of England, on the 18th of April. We were delayed at Calais till the 23rd of April, by reason of a storm. The same day we crossed the sea with a favourable wind, and came to Canterbury; thence to London on the 25th of April, whence we crossed the river to Lambeth to the Archbishop's Palace, where he received us with the greatest kindness. There we still remain, waiting for the Royal Mandate to proceed to the Universities for which we are intended. The Archbishop wishes to send me to Oxford, which is the most celebrated University; but Master Bucer to Cambridge: but we are urging the Archbishop to permit us to enjoy each other's society a little while longer; we do not yet know whether we shall succeed, for every thing is done by the Royal order. Whatever post may at length be assigned to us, may the Lord grant that we may approve our ministry to him.

We have no certain information to give you on English affairs, except that we observe that the harvest is very plenteous but the labourers few. It is thought that there are scarcely ten Preachers in the whole kingdom of England, who can do any thing with effect. Unite your prayers, therefore, unceasingly with ours to the Lord, that he would thrust forth labourers into his harvest. This is, indeed, very important; nor do I see how the Churches can be aided, except they have suitable and faithful ministers; for I hear that persons in authority[p] are shamefully guilty of seizing on Ecclesiastical property; and consequently the Churches are miserably destitute of sound pastors. As far as we have any influence, if indeed we have any, we would [gladly] remedy this and similar evils; but since we do not understand the [English] language, we shall probably not be able to effect so much as we could wish. We will do our utmost, as far as the Lord shall enable us, by lectures, and by private admonitions and exhortations. We are informed, that, through the efforts of Master John à Lasco, a Church has been granted to the French in a certain[q] town; and in London to the Germans,[r] of whom there is said to be above 5,000; by which benefit undoubtedly the doctrine of eternal life may be not a little advanced, if the

[p] "Magistratus."

[q] Probably Glastonbury. See Strype's Cranmer, I., 346. The grant was not made, however, till 1550.

[r] The Belgic Church in Austin Friars.

Lord should breathe benignantly, as we trust He will, on these undertakings.

That old knave, Satan, since he perceives that the power of the Son of man is not small in this matter, is busy according to his custom in throwing obstacles in the way of the Gospel, so as to obstruct it in some measure, if not altogether. For he has introduced into England, also, among other errors, the noxious dogma of the Anabaptists: in consequence of which, public disputations against them have been appointed in the Churches,[s] over [one of] which the Most Reverend presides this day at London. It is managed with great prudence and with great benefit to the city, that all shall be conducted publicly in the vernacular English tongue, so that the people may detect the impostures of Satan in his instruments. But since the obstinacy of those fellows is horrible, so that they will not yield to the truth, even when defeated by the clearest Scriptures, or rather betake themselves to abuse, it is said to have been determined that, in future, the Disputations shall take place, as before, in the Churches, but with closed doors, in the presence of certain persons appointed by the King for that purpose. I record these things in order that we may see how the devil in every part of the world watches for [the advancement of] his kingdom; which is permitted to him by God, partly on account of our negligence, partly that our faith, patience, and constancy may be exercised. May Christ grant that we also may diligently watch for [the promotion of] His kingdom.

With regard to other matters, excellent Brother, which we desire that you and other brethren should know, you will be informed by the letter of Master Bucer. When we have any certain news, we will take care to communicate them to you as quickly as possible.

We are eagerly expecting a letter from you, that we may know the state of your affairs, especially of your Church.

Farewell, venerable Brother, together with all our co-pastors, especially Master Conrad, senior and junior, Master Longlin, Master Christopher, Master Doctor Hedio, Master Lewis, Master Martin, and others. May the companion of your life, with your dear pledges, prosper.

"Publicis Templis."

In haste, from Lambeth near London, 26 April, in the year of Salvation 1549.

Much health is desired for you and for all yours, by Master P. Martyr, Master P. Alexander, Master Dryander, Master Anthony French (*Gallus*), Master Valerandus [Pollanus], with Master Emanuel, and my son Paul, who is become so entirely an Anglo-Frenchman (*Anglus et Gallus*), that he acts as our interpreter, to our great comfort.

PAUL FAGIUS.

To the most learned and most pious man, Master Doctor Marpach, Professor of Theology and Parish-Minister of the Church of St. Nicholas, Strasburgh, his most respected Brother.

XXIII.

MARTYR TO BUCER.

OXFORD, *June* 15, 1549.

[Printed in Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, p. 545, fol. Basil., 1577.]

† *Translation now first published.*

I SEND Julius to you, in order that the Most Reverend may have certain information respecting our Disputations;[t] and I make no doubt that what I have taken care should be brought [to his notice] will be communicated to you. Give me your best

[t] This Disputation took place at Oxford, on the 28th of May, 1549, between Dr. Peter Martyr, and Dr. William Tresham: on the 29th of May, between Dr. Martyr, and Dr. William Chadsey: on the 31st May, between Dr. Martyr, and Dr. Tresham, assisted by Mr. Morgan, M.A: on the 1st of June, between Dr. Martyr, and Dr. Chadsey. It was conducted in the presence of Dr. Cox, Chancellor of the University, and others the King's Visitors. The whole of the four Acts are given in Anthonie Marten's Collection of certain Divine matters, &c., of M. D. Peter Martyr, pp. 173—250, fol., London, 1583. See an account of this Disputation, and a short abstract of the present letter, in Strype, Cranmer, i., 283—289, and Eccl. Memor. II., i., 325.

advice; for, my strength being small, the matter perplexing, and the adversaries both obstinate and very audacious, in the compass of four days I was unable to effect more than you see. But, if the contest had been prolonged, undoubtedly more light would have come to the cause. It is not uncommon for veteran soldiers, and for those who, like yourself, have retired with honour from the service, to take delight in looking on while raw recruits are fighting: so I am inclined to think that you will not be sorry to read these my [papers]; unless, perhaps, I shall appear to differ somewhat from you on that Question; in which, however, on weighing the whole thoroughly, you will easily understand that,[u]—when I maintain that the Body of Christ becomes present to us by faith, and, by communicating, we are incorporated with Him, and are transformed into that[v] [Body], —I do not wander far from what you yourself teach.

I admit that we verily partake of the Things of the Sacrament,[w] that is, the Body and Blood of Christ; but so that I hold, that this is done by the mind and by faith; and in the meantime I grant that the Holy Spirit is efficacious in the Sacraments by force of the Spirit and institute of the Lord. This, however, I endeavour to maintain, in opposition to superstitious notions; chiefly with the view that people should not confuse[x] either the Body or the Blood of Christ, carnally and through a corporeal Presence, with the Bread and the Wine.

But that we ourselves are verily conjoined to Him, [is a point on which] I have no hesitation; nor do I desire that the Sacraments should be [considered as] Symbols without honour and dignity.

One point only remains, respecting which, possibly, you may be displeased that I assert that it is impossible[y] that the Body of Christ, even glorified, should be in many places. But, as you perceive, Scripture does not declare this to me as a thing to be believed;—the nature[z] of the human body forbids it:—

[u] Martyr is here simply stating the *points* which he wished to establish by his Disputations, not *the formal Propositions* of his Acts, as might be supposed from the manner in which Strype, Memor. II., i., 325, gives an account of this letter and of Bucer's reply to it.

[v] "In illud."

[w] "Sacramenti Res."

[x] "Admisceant."

[y] "Non convenire Corpori."

[z] "Ratio."

the Fathers affirm that it can be granted to no creature, but to God only;—while no greater benefit could come to us from it.

You will see, that I attribute to the Sacraments as much as the Word of God allows me; hence, I am persuaded, you will either bear with a candid mind what I have brought forward in disputation, or you will not be silent as to any things which in your judgment I ought to correct.

I would write more, but I have little time; at another opportunity I will enter on the subject more at large. I wish to be informed on your affairs, and those of Paul [Fagius], and I again invite you both, and also Peter [Alexander], to come and visit me when it may be convenient. Julius will be able to tell you how matters are going on with myself. Farewell, and love me as you do. Oxford, June 15, 1549.

Yours,

PETER MARTYR.

XXIV.

BUCER TO MARTYR.[a]

CAMBRIDGE, *June* 20, 1549.

[Printed in Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, p. 546, fol. Basil. 1577.]

† *Translation, now first published.*

I WAS greatly exhilarated by the arrival of your Julius, both on his own account, in the view of his distinguished piety and great candour, and also more especially because he gave full information of your and your wife's tolerable health, and of the result of your Disputation conformable to our hope, (as far as we see it possible to hope for any thing from such men,) and brought moreover the complete Acts of the Disputation. These, indeed, I have run over, with no offence as far as you are concerned; but with great lamentation for your antagonists, whom I perceive to have been procured for no other purpose than to excite,

[a] Strype has some remarks on this letter, Memorials, II., i. 325, 326.

and spread over the ray of truth, a little black cloud, by any whirlwinds of whatever silly words they might be able to produce. But God, who is Love, in the course of my life has brought me into connexion with no man [but yourself] whose innermost thoughts,[b] both on the whole subject of religion, and on the manner of bringing a State into conformity with it, appear to me more fully to agree with my own judgment[c] of whatever measure it may be: let there, then, be cemented between us no common friendship; on my part, by means of the contemplation of those rare virtues with which Christ has adorned you; on your part, by the consideration of my not-altogether worthless endeavours. When I take a retrospect of religion, and those endowments which have been conferred on us by the Lord for the purpose of promoting and adorning it,—I cannot conceal from you what are the things which I could wish should be still added, and what should in some respects be changed, in that Disputation in which, in truth, you have written great and very excellent things, or rather the Lord through you; also what I could desire to be done with regard to [? the publication of] the Acts. I feel confident that you will receive these [suggestions] with a mind as grateful and as free from all offence, as I myself have received and perused your Disputation. For, to require that no brother should retain his peculiar sentiments in any degree whatever,—*that* would be, either to tyrannize over the mind, or to expect the perfection of the saints here, which belongs to the future world.

I confess that, if you had thought good to consult with me on the framing of your Propositions,[d] I should have entreated you to have expressed the second in these or in similar words:—

2. *The Body of Christ is not contained locally in the Bread and Wine, neither is it affixed or adjoined to those things by any manner of this world.*

[b] "Intima sensa."

[c] "Qualicumque Judiciolo."

[d] The *actual* "QUESTIONS set down to be disputed of," were the following:—

"1. In the Sacrament of the Eucharist, there is no transubstantiation of the Bread and Wine into the Body and Blood of Christ.

"2. The Body and Blood of Christ are not carnally or corporally in the Bread and Wine; nor, as others speak, under the forms [*species*] of Bread and Wine.

"3. The Body and Blood of Christ are Sacramentally conjoined [*uniuntur*] to the Bread and Wine."

And to have added at the end of your third:—

3. . . . . *so that, to them that believe, Christ is here truly exhibited; to be seen, however, received, enjoyed, by faith, not by any sense or manner of this world.*

I know what is the prerogative and the due office of friendship, even in communicating the most intimate thoughts of friends, especially in things of such importance. But since you do not seem to ask me to give you my serious view on these matters, and my grief on account of the ruin of our Churches in Germany sufficiently exercises my mind; moreover, since I hear that you confess with open mouth the exhibition of Christ in the Sacrament, and of his being daily received more fully [g] by faith; —I deem it superfluous to continue the discussion of that matter with you,—though you would not have declined it, such is your piety towards Christ and your regard for me.

The reason why I should have preferred your second Proposition expressed in the words which I have judged [more appropriate], or in similar terms, rather than in words which deny the real and substantial presence of Christ in the Sacrament (or rather in the Eucharist, so that the celebration [h] and the sacred assembly, rather than the symbols only, would have been expressed), and also that something should have been added to your third, concerning the exhibition of Christ, are these:—

We ought always to endeavour, with the greatest diligence, to edify in the faith and love of Christ whomsover we can, and to offend no one, since the necessary obedience of Christ does not require that; and for this reason, in order that we should not only think but also speak the same things, especially concerning Mysteries of Christ so great and so generally [i] prized, we should, moreover, take care not to give any occasion to the evil-disposed for criminating, much less of persecuting, the Church of God. Now, among those who can be edified in Christ by the present Disputation, I think there are positively none of those with whom I have ever had any communication on this point (—and I have investigated the sentiments of very many persons, both in their writings and by personal converse, during that entire septennary in which, rolling as it were the stone of Sisyphus, I have striven for the concord of the Churches as regards this

[g] "Percipiendi." [h] "Actio." [i] "Popularia."

matter—) who imagine an impanation of Christ, or his local connexion with the symbols of this world.—But some, like your Antagonists, contended, that Christ is here exhibited, not in Bread and Wine, but in their accidents, and that, as long as those accidents remain; yet they denied that He is here contained locally.—Or they held, that undoubtedly nothing more is here exhibited than Bread and Wine, as signs of Christ altogether[k] absent, by which we ought to make only a remembrance of Him, and to advance in the faith of Him: however, some hold, that, by this remembrance, their minds are lifted up into heaven, so that there they enjoy Christ.—Or they were of opinion that, in this Sacrament, Christ exhibits himself whole, God and Man; and hence, for the purpose of preserving this their faith, and also of declaring that they do not agree with those who here introduce naked and empty symbols, they like to make use of these forms of speech, and to say, that the Body of Christ is here exhibited Corporally, because His Body is exhibited; Substantially, because His Substance; Carnally, because His Flesh.—And there were a very few, who chose to use these words after that first fervour of the contention which arose in the early struggle of this Disputation. And those who chose to use these words contended, that at least the right of using those forms of speech ought to be left to them: nevertheless those persons always plainly affirmed that here they thought nothing about a descent from heaven, nothing about a local inclusion: and as to that which they maintained about the eating by the wicked, that also subsisted in collation.[l]—A good number were of opinion, that the presence of Christ was exhibited to them, in the Sacrament, simply, for their salvation, if they received that [presence] with faith; and altogether withdrew their mind from [any speculation as to] the manner in which He is present.

I have found these and no other opinions, about the presence of the Lord in the Sacred Supper, among those with whom I have ever conferred on this matter (—I have conferred, however, certainly with very many—); among whom, some introduced

[k] "Prorsus."

[l] It not being clear to the Editor what was the precise meaning which Bucer intended to convey by this word—"*collatione*"—it has been left in its Latin idiom. Probably it was intended to signify a mere "*bringing together*" of the elements and of the receiver, *without any beneficial effect.*

more, some less, of a carnal contention; nevertheless I have decidedly found not one person who insisted either on a local presence of Christ, or on a connexion with the symbols after any fashion of this world. It is for us, however, if we wish to edify and in nothing to offend, to labour with the utmost diligence, that we may lead them into consent, as to the truth of Christ, both between themselves and us, and with the universal Church of Christ. I cannot discover any more speedy and certain method of persuading all, who are not contentious, and who can be edified in this matter, to [adopt this] consent,—than this,—since we agree in sentiment with the Word of the Lord, and with the whole of the ancient Church, that we should freely use the words of Scripture and of the ancient Church; and so, that we should both express and proclaim,[m] in very full and certain words, that which is the principal thing in this sacred [matter]; as we see in the holy Fathers was the custom of the early Church. Now in the words of Christ, of the Apostle, and of the holy Fathers, we observe that the very[n] exhibition of Christ is everywhere most fully expressed; and the presence, not the signification[o] and absence, of the Lord. When, indeed, we are treating of the Bread and Wine,—they are properly called signs—to them this term is properly attributed, yes, even to the whole celebration. But neither the signs themselves, nor the signification of Christ, is the principal thing which is here in discussion;[p] but the very exhibition and spiritual eating of Him. On this account the holy Fathers used the word, Represent (which is the same as the word Exhibit), rather than, Signify.

Moreover, since here we all acknowledge that by faith we verily take Christ and have Him present; and that this taking and presence, not feigned, and verbal[q] only, but real, and of the very substance of Christ; I see no reason why [the proposition] that Christ is not taken really and substantially, should be defended as if it were a dogma of the Christian religion. It is far better, I think, that these terms [Signification and Absence] should be discontinued, which method of concord was lately adopted with great advantage in the German Churches; since

[m] "Prædicemus."

[n] "Ipsam."

[o] That is, the representation of Christ by a Sign.

[p] "Hic agitur."

[q] "Dicta."

they are not [the words] of Scripture; nor do they even, as I believe, conduce very much to express the truth of Scripture; nor are they taken in the same sense. For,—when those points are so much contended, that Christ is so in heaven, that He is really and substantially absent from the Sacred Supper, and is only present by signification,—I have found one result,—that there has been a wonderful confirmation of the impious profanation of the Sacraments by those who acknowledge only naked signs in the Eucharist. [I have found, also,] that those who are truly on our side, but who are oppressed by a certain superstition with respect to words, and by the obscurity of the matter itself, are much disturbed by this disputation, and are too much led away [from us] by those who deny a real presence of Christ in the Supper, and admit nothing more than its significatory character.[r] [I have found] that those, moreover, who have a more full understanding of this Mystery, and are not held [in bondage] by a superstition with respect to words, are not a little offended; because they see how many,—through this negation of a real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and through the establishment of a signified presence,—are either precipitated by Satan into an absolute contempt of Sacraments, or are armed by him [to a battle] against the Church of God, by the pernicious crime of Christ excluded from the Sacrament.

Well weighing these considerations, I am truly unwilling that Christ should not be [allowed to be] really in the Sacred Supper; I am unwilling, also, that against those [your opponents] the matter should be urged by the arguments—Christ is in heaven, circumscribed by place; therefore He is not in fact,[s] or really, (which two expressions are, I think, equivalent,) in the Sacred Supper:—but rather, Therefore He is not locally in the Supper. For thus this argument ought to be concluded, unless it become an empty sophism. But, if it be so concluded, against whom is the contest? For even the Schoolmen did not affirm, that Christ was in the Supper or in the signs locally; and who would tolerate antagonists who should affirm such a proposition? Indeed, I know that this argument has given grave offence to an innumerable multitude of the holiest brethren; who think that they are defamed by that false accusation; as if, in truth, they included Christ locally in the Bread, or even in the celebration of

[r] "Solam significationem."

[s] "Re ipsâ vel realiter."

the Supper. You [now] have the reason why I could have wished that you had not placed in your second Proposition, nor defended as a necessary dogma of our religion,—That Christ is not in the Supper, nor given and taken really; and I should have preferred that all those words,—Really, Substantially, Carnally, Corporally,—had been omitted.

The reason why I could have wished that, in your third Proposition,[t] you had more distinctly expressed the exhibition of Christ in the Supper,—is this; that I cannot desire [u] that either yourself (who have a very great name among the Churches of Christ in every land, and who are among the dearest of my acquaintance) or that the Church of England should anywhere fall under suspicion, as if you acknowledged nothing in the Lord's Supper besides empty signs of Christ through which the remembrance of Christ now absent ought to be excited. For, although you say, in your subsequent responses, that you maintain an *efficacious* signification and exhibition of Christ; yet nearly the whole Disputation runs on in such a manner, that I fear too many who may read the Acts of this Disputation will come to the conclusion that you maintain that Christ is absent altogether from the Supper, and that whatsoever is done in it has no further result than that faith, excited concerning Christ truly absent, is increased through the Spirit of Christ, by His benefits brought to mind and by meditation; and that you do not acknowledge that the very Christ, (beginning [to do this] in Baptism, and continuing [to do it] more and more in the Eucharist,) exhibits and communicates Himself present to His own by that communication, by which they verily are and remain in Him, and have Him being and remaining in themselves. To sum up: they will think you maintain the presence, not of Christ, but only of the Spirit of Christ, and of His influence; although I know that you acknowledge that Christ exhibits Himself present to faith.

With regard to the[w] publication of the Acts, this is my opinion.

[t] See the third Proposition, in note, p. 83, above.

[u] The Latin (as printed in Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, p. 549) is "Aspiam," —clearly an error for "Cupiam."

[w] Martyr published the Acts of this DISPUTATION in the course of this same year (1549); prefixing to them a TRACT, and an Epistle Dedicatory to Cranmer, in which he explained his views more systematically; with the following title:—"TRACTATIO de Sacramento Eucharistiæ habita in celeberrima Uni-

If it be right that they should be published, I could wish that in the first place a copy should be given to your opponents, in order that, having diligently read over their present objections, they may add any supplemental arguments if they have any, provided they be such as they brought in a disjointed and concise form in the course of disputation; that then you should subjoin to these your responses. If they should bring forward arguments already resolved, you can refer the reader in your turn to these previously given solutions: but if new, you can frame against these in your turn new matter to expose their triflings. In fact, if I were concerned in this cause, I would even present them with my new responses for their discussion, and I would subjoin my responses to their new objections; until they should acknowledge that they had exhausted all their objections: just as among Advocates at the Bar liberty is given to bring forth all they have to say for themselves, until they come to the end of their objections, or until the Judge shall decide that they ought to have ended them; the last response always remaining with the accused party. Unless such a course be followed, they will make it a ground of complaint that, being desirous of saying more, they had no liberty of doing so. We always make causes to wait upon time, whereas time ought to wait upon causes, and causes which remain ought everywhere to

versitate Oxoniensi in Anglia per D. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium Florentinum Regium ibidem Theologiæ Professorem cum iam absolvisset interpretationem xi. Capitis prioris Epistolæ D. Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios.—Ad hæc, DISPUTATIO de eodē Eucharistiæ Sacramento, in eadem Universitate habita per eundem D. P. Mar. anno Domini MD.XLIX. Londini ad æneum serpentem." The "TRACTATIO," has pp. xvi. (not paged, consisting of an Epistle Dedicatory to Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury) and 134: the "DISPUTATIO," has pp. viii., and 186, and a second separate Title.—They were both reprinted at Zurich in 1557, by Andrew Gesner.—An English Translation of the TRACT was also published in London:—"A Discourse or Traictise of Petur Martyr Vermill a Florētine, the publique reader of diuinitee in the Uniuersitee of Oxford, wherein he openly declared his whole and determinate iudgemente, concernynge the Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, in the sayde Universitee." Colophon: "Imprinted at London by Robert Stoughton dwellinge within Ludgate at the signe of the Bysshoppes Miter, for Nicholas Udall. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum at septennium," pp. viii. and 220.—The four Acts of the DISPUTATION were published in English, in 1583, by Anthonie Marten, in his collection of "Certain Divine Matters, &c., of M. D. Peter Martyr," pp. 173—250, folio, London, at the end of Martyr's Common Places.—(See above, p. 80, note (t), and below, p. 142, No. XXXVIII.)

give way to that business of Christ.[x] Moreover, I could desire, (you will certainly find a suitable place, possibly in your Peroration,) that you would very clearly define those words, "*Esse in Sacramento Christi Corpus realiter,*" ["That the Body of Christ is really in the Sacrament,"] and in such terms as shall point out the altogether absurd and impious sense of those words; and that you would then add, that some persons go astray into that absurd and impious sense; in order that it might more distinctly appear that you here by no means wish to traduce any Churches or brethren who are most averse from that sense which you oppose. Lastly, [I wish that] you would confess (if you can do so with a safe conscience,) "that Christ undoubtedly[y] is (since we must speak with simplicity) in His Sacraments, and present in them, not absent from them;" but that you would always add, "that we may enjoy Him by faith," as Paul says, that "He dwells in our hearts by faith." For, though we should grant you, that He is circumscribed even in heaven by a physical place, how is that inconsistent with His being now truly present to us by faith; even as the sun,[z] in whatever part of the world we behold him, is truly present to us by sight. Certainly all errors which can possibly arise from the name "Presence," may be altogether excluded by such words, which can neither disturb any of the brethren, nor arm our enemies against us by false criminations: I mean,—if we deny, together with transubstantiation, both a local presence, and any [presence] of this world's character.

I have been induced to write to you at such length, not only by the recollection of those scandals which I have seen to arise in Germany from this controversy during twenty years and more (for it began in the year 1524), but also by my perceiving that the same spirit of contention is raging here, which was the origin of so many evils among ourselves; of not only I might almost say perpetual dissensions among the true disciples of Christ, but of an infinite contempt of all the discipline of Christ and of the sacred ministry. For Satan, when he cannot retain

[x] The meaning seems somewhat obscure: "Causas semper facimus servire tempori, cum oportebat tempori servire causas, et causas reliquas isti negotio Christi ubique postponi."

[y] "Planè."

[z] This was an illustration of the real presence in great favour among the Reformers. Peter Martyr himself adopts it in his Treatise on the Eucharist.

his chief idol, the Mass, and the remaining superstition and idolatry of this Sacrament, comes among us by the spreading of these evils: in order that he may at once bring discredit on the whole salutary administration of the Sacred Supper, and may render it despicable and entirely profitless to most persons, having introduced a profanation of the Sacraments, he goes on to introduce even Epicurism. I am sure, if you were but fully informed of those evils which have sprung up from the single occasion of this controversy; and what neglect of all Sacraments and of the whole discipline of Christ, aye, and even hatred, has been brought in among us;—you would be filled with horror whenever you heard that such a controversy was agitated. For you truly love Christ; and you are seeking His kingdom before everything else; and you are striving to approve yourself to Christ the Lord in all things, and to be profitable to His kingdom everywhere, and not to be influenced in the slightest degree by the judgments of any men, however many or great; unless you are convinced that they are requiring disputations of a kind which may be advantageous to all those whose simple desire is, that they may always more put on and eat Christ the Lord, really, in the highest sense, namely, by the Spirit of Christ and by faith.

It is my wish, as your very loving friend, very much loved by you, most truly lovingly [a] to transmit to you these suggestions for your consideration, till the Lord shall bring us together again. How is it possible that I should not love most lovingly one who loves me ardently, one so powerful in Christ, one so patient? Such affection,—what offences from you cannot it forgive; when you come forward so boldly in every place to assert the glory of Christ?

One thing, however, has very much astonished me; that you seem to fear I shall be offended at your denying, That Christ is at the same moment in many places; and that it has escaped you that I, with Master Philip [Melancthon], abominate from my whole heart that Ubiquity (as Philip calls it,) of Christ as man which some have laid down [as a dogma]. I have never felt disposed, nor am I up to this moment disposed, to come forward in that controversy, Whether Christ is circumscribed by any Physical place in the heavens. He sits at the right hand of God; He has left the world; He is conversant with those good

[a] "Meo amicissimo, amicissimus, et verè amicissimè."

things which have not entered into the heart of man here [below]. I refrain, therefore, from transferring our modes of existence and Physical conditions[b] to this subject, further than this;—that I always acknowledge and confess both the true nature of a human body and also soul to be actually in my Head and Saviour, and glory that I am flesh of His Flesh and bone of His bones. Nor do I see that anything further can be taught from the Divine Scriptures. It is evident that no dogmas of religion can be established from the writings of the Fathers. I also look at the assertions of the Fathers [with consideration of] against whom they are made, and what it is intended to conclude by them. But, in this, whether it be my religion or my superstition, I so hold my private opinion within bounds, that I have no desire to contend with any who may affirm as fully as they please all those [passages] of the Holy Fathers concerning the place of Christ. And certainly if you have told any one that I maintain that Christ is at the same time in many places, I mean locally, —I, who in these Mysteries exclude all idea of place,—I intreat you to have the kindness to explain to such an one my sentiment more correctly: which is this: that Christ exhibits Himself at the same moment and truly, by the Word and by His Sacraments, present to us, although we are existing in many places; but that we see and apprehend Him, present, by faith only, without any idea of place. Farewell. Cambridge, June 20th, 1549.

Yours,

BUCER.

XXV.

JOHN CALVIN TO MARTIN BUCER.

[GENEVA,] *June* 28, [1549].

[Latin Holograph, MSS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 102, f. 297.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

HEALTH. Your letters were delivered to me too recently, for it to be possible that you should now receive an answer from Farell

[b] "Nostra Prædicamenta et Physicas rationes."

and Viret. Unexpectedly, I myself have the opportunity of a messenger, who arrived at the close of the fair, from a place from which other persons will be able to write to you.

I had heard from some of my correspondents, and a general rumour spread the report, that you had now reached [c] England; however, it was still more agreeable to learn this from yourself. I feel well assured, that this quiet retreat in your exile has been given you by God, because he will not suffer you to sit down as useless. And now I hear that a laborious situation has been assigned to you, worthy of yourself, and more than useful to the Church at large. The greater leisure you will have from those troublesome and incessant employments which hitherto have overwhelmed you, the more abundant fruits of your studies will return to us. This at least is the impression made on my mind, by your having been appointed to the office which you are to fill. You give myself not a little encouragement, by your judgment that my writings are profitable for the Church of God: but it would have been far better that this duty had been devolved on yourself, as the stronger man. For, to say nothing of my slender ability [for this work], which I acknowledge, you can scarcely believe how little time remains to me for writing. Sermons and lectures consume much of it. I am wonderfully disturbed by perpetual, and often very annoying, interruptions. My health is so broken, that I am obliged to refrain from immoderate work. Nevertheless, I will not cease to drain out [d] from my little streams a few drops, such as they are, for the sons of God: something larger may be given by yourself. Add to this, that nothing is more calculated to alleviate and mitigate the grief of your mind, than those writings by which, as you well know, you can so greatly assist the Church, whose calamity is the only matter which distresses and torments you.

We, in this place, exposed as we have been and still are to certain dangers, have grown callous [e] to daily threats. If we were under the influence of a more decided [f] piety, and a more decided fear of God, than appears in many, we should live without apprehension, because, living or dying, we should be happy. However, when I see so many pious men flocking hither from every quarter as it were to a standard, I have good

[c] Bucer reached England about April 25, 1549.

[d] "Propinare." [e] "Occalluimus." "Alia pietas."

hope that the Lord will be the Guardian[g] of this place. The Widow of Budæus, with her children, has taken refuge here. Many persons of the same sort, have imposed on themselves a voluntary exile, that they may worship God with us in purity. O that our Pharaoh would at length begin to be wise, and not be such an enemy to himself and to others! I congratulate the pious Rulers in England, who, amidst the greatest obstacles, do not cease to promote the kingdom of Christ.

Farell and Viret are very well. I survive the half of myself; for the Lord has lately received my wife to himself.[h] She so departed out of the world, as to hasten to heaven with wonderful firmness of faith.

Soon after her decease,[i] I went to Zurich, with Farell as my companion, that we might put some end to that unhappy controversy which gave occasion to many evils springing out of it. We wrote a Form[k] of our "CONSENT;" of which I send you a copy. Although, possibly, you may desiderate some things,

[g] "Tutorem."

[h] She died April 5, 1549. An affecting account of her death is given in a letter from Calvin to Farell, April 11th, 1549. (Calvini, Op. IX., 50, col. 2, edit. Amstelodami, 1667.) Dyer has given an English translation of a part of this (Life of Calvin, p. 241); but the whole is worth reading.

[i] Calvin joined Farell at Neufchâtel towards the end of May.

[k] In the month of March, 1549, the Senate of Bern convoked the French and German Pastors to consult with them on the state of the Church. (Kuhn, Reformat. Bernens. Bern. 1828, p. 414.) On that occasion Calvin sent a letter to the Bernese pastors, to which he subjoined an exposition of the doctrine of the Sacraments, as held by the Genevan Church, under twenty heads: these (which may be seen in Niemeyer's Collectio Confessionum, Præf. p. XLI., 8vo., Lipsiæ, 1840), are all but identical with the articles on the Sacraments proposed by Calvin to the ministers at Zurich shortly after, and on which he requested Bucer's opinion in the letter, June 28, 1549, now first published above. Bucer's reply (which is also now first published) was most favourable; Calvin tells us that "he congratulated the whole Church" on this agreement between the Churches of Zurich and Geneva (Niemeyer, p. 201). All the Swiss Churches adopted it with the exception of the Bernese, who, by a letter dated June 2, declined their subscription, on the ground that the doctrine of the Sacraments had been sufficiently set forth in the first "Helvetic Confession," drawn up at Basle in 1536. The "Consensus Tigurinus," or "Zurich Consent," consisting ultimately of twenty-six Heads, was transmitted by Calvin to the pastors of Zurich, with a letter dated August 1, 1549 (see both in Niemeyer, pp. 191—196); and was finally accepted by a letter from the ministers of Zurich, August 30, 1549. (Niemeyer, p. 197.) Five years afterwards, December 1, 1554, Calvin transmitted to all the Swiss Churches an "Exposition of the Heads of the Consent." (Niemeyer, pp. 199—217.) The "Consent," and the

nevertheless this seemed to me sufficient; for we obtained three principal matters, namely:—

1. That Sacraments are not merely [signs][1] of external profession, but true testimonies and seals of the grace of God;—

2. That grace is not si[mply] offered to us there, but that God efficaciously [works] through them;—

3. That those who receive them by faith, find Christ there with all His [gifts].

I request, however, that you will signify to me [. . . . . .] your judgment.

Farewell, accomplished Sir, and Father, [always] to be esteemed by me in the Lord: may He be ever present with you, and follow you with [His] gr[ace]. All my colleagues, and [the whole] cohort of the pious brethren reverently salute you. June 28, [1549].

Truly yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

To the distinguished man, and excellent pastor of the Church of God, D. Martin Bucer, my father, and always to be esteemed fellow-minister.

Since, on searching for that Zurich Writing, no copy has been found, but since I had sent one before to Utenhoven; you can ask him to be so good as to furnish you with it. There are wanting [even in that] two heads which were thoughtlessly omitted, but which I hope the Zurichians will not refuse to insert in their proper places.

One thing ought to be added. We have said that "Christ in His flesh is to be considered,"[m] &c.:—

"Exposition," taken together, form a beautiful, luminous, and valuable dissertation on the nature and effects of the Sacraments; with which every one, who desires thoroughly to understand the subject, ought to be acquainted.

[1] The words or parts of words in brackets are supplied from conjecture, having been lost by binding in of the inner margin of the letter.

[m] "IV. Christ in His flesh is to be considered by us as a Priest, who has expiated our sins by the one sacrifice of His death, who has blotted out all our iniquities by His obedience, who has obtained for us perfect righteousness, who now intercedes for us, that an access to God may be open to us. He is to be considered as the expiating Victim, by whom God is appeased to the world. He is to be considered as a Brother, who makes us, from being miserable sons

He means,—at least I think so,—to point at certain persons at Madgeburg who trouble him very much; especially a former pupil of his named Illyricus,[e] an ardent, contentious, and contumelious man in the judgment of many.

The first and principal controversy is on the *Adiaphora*.[f] He [Illyricus] says that Philip conceded these things at Leipsic; that he acted imprudently in that matter, and with little consistency. That he accomplished nothing more than to fawn upon the Papists in these [questions]; giving them rather an opportunity of thinking badly of us; for when they perceive us wavering, they conclude that we are beginning to despair of our cause. And it must be confessed that he gave satisfaction to many[g] [? none] of our people in this matter. For the Papists do not care what, or how much, we concede to them in these *Adiaphora*:[f] this is not their point: their chief object is this—that the whole of that religion, which we have received as delivered to us by Christ through the enlightening of the Holy Spirit, may be entirely obscured and radically extirpated. This is the hinge of the whole matter. Hence, as they acknowledge, they care not what we concede to them in ceremonies and in things indifferent; they give us no thanks; nor do they pay any regard to the humility of our[h] [Churches]. On the contrary, laughing at us, they rejoice that we have been reduced to labour and study how we can make concessions to them; whereas, formerly, we did not yield to any one in the slightest matter.[i]

* * * * * * * *

[PETER MARTYR.]

To D. Martin Bucer, his respected friend.[ii]

[e] "Flacius Illyricus." See a notice of him, p. 119. [f] Things indifferent.

[g] ? "None":—"*multis*" probably being incorrectly copied for "*nullis*."

[h] "Nostrarum."

[i] This letter goes on, at some length, to state Flacius's reproaches of the people and ministers at Wittenberg, for their want of sympathy with the misfortunes of their Prince, Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and of the Landgrave of Hesse, who were then both captives of the Emperor Charles V. It also details the state of affairs in Saxony, and censures the conduct of Prince Maurice, father-in-law of the Landgrave of Hesse, who had made common cause with the Emperor against the Protestant German Princes. The letter (as far as it remains) is about twice the length of the extract translated above: but the latter part was lost before Vol. 102 of the Parker MSS. was bound.

[ii] In the MS. copy, this Inscription appears as a *Title*, at the head of the letter.

XXVII.

BUCER TO CALVIN.

CAMBRIDGE, about the end of *August*, 1549.

[MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 102, f. 289. Cotemporary copy. Latin.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

VENERABLE AND DEAREST BROTHER, AND COLLEAGUE,—It is my constant prayer that you may have an increase of grace and consolation from the Lord.

I received on the 13th of August your letter, dated the 28th of June, together with the Formula of your Confession [as agreed on] with the Zurichians, by the hands of our [friend] Wolrand.[k] You have greatly refreshed me by both these communications; except that I am much afflicted to hear that you are bereaved of your very choice and holy partner: I know, however, that it is a source of congratulation to her and to us, that the Heavenly Father has released her from so many pains, and has received her to Himself in eternal rest. May He speedily join me to her; my course being, as I think, completed.[l]

I heartily thank the Lord, that you have obtained those pious [Confessions] on the primary use of the Sacraments, their efficacy, and the feeding on Christ through faith; hence I "desiderate"[m] nothing in your Act. I perceive where you have tightened the cord of disputation; I perceive where you

[k] Valerandus Pollanus, or Wolrand Pullen, a Fleming, was Pastor and Superintendent of the French Church at Glastonbury. He fled from Strasburgh by reason of the Interim. In February, 1551, he set forth the Liturgy, used at Strasburgh, and afterwards at Glastonbury, by these foreign refugees. See Strype's Memor. II., i., 378—382; where an account of this Liturgy is given. He fled, in 1554, to Frankfort; where Hooper's widow makes mention of him, as having married a relative of hers, and as baptizing his infant son in the Rhine, April 20, 1554. (See Orig. Letters, Parker Society, p. 111.)

[l] Bucer's anticipations were realized. He died a year and a-half after the date of this letter, on the 28th of February, 1551.

[m] See Calvin's Letter to Bucer, p. 95: "You will desiderate some things."

have relaxed it: and I am well persuaded that, unless you had so relaxed it, you would not have been able to tighten the cord where it was very necessary to do so.

I am very much pleased with the two Appendices[o] you have sent: I hope they will not reject the former, which I certainly *did* "desiderate" the moment I had read the Formula.

There are three things, however, of which I pray God those learned, and in other respects most excellent, men, may at some time be persuaded.

1. Not so carefully to shun the use of the words of Christ and of Scripture, in their doctrine concerning each Sacrament:—[I mean] that we receive Christ Himself in them, so that we remain in Him and He in us, are His members, flesh of His flesh, and one with Him. For who can speak on such heavenly things more properly, or more appositely for the edification of faith, than the Holy Spirit, and the Son of God Himself? Whatever inference you may fear as possible to be drawn from these words of an unworthy kind, or not consistent with the heavenly glory of Christ, or with the truth of a human nature and of a true body,—either through weakness of judgment, or through the impiety of men,—all this can be abundantly excluded and repelled by the [very[p]] words of the Holy Spirit and of Christ Himself.

If I add [an acknowledgment] that the reception[q] and communion of Christ is not of this world, nor of sense, nor of one's own [r]idea, but of heavenly regeneration and of faith; which they alone receive whom the Father has quickened together with Him, has raised from the dead, and has seated in Heavenly Places: (for the Lord has left the world, has gone to the Father, sits at His right hand in the Heavenly Places; and, remaining in this glory of the Father, incorporates us with Himself, dwells in us, feeds us with Himself:) in a Confession giving this clear sound, what room is left for a single thought inconsistent[s] with the glory of Christ?

[o] See the preceding letter of Calvin, p. 96 above, paragraphs 1 and 2. They were adopted in the "Zurich Consent," of which they form the Heads V. and XXIII. See them, in the original Latin, in Niemeyer, pp. 193, 196.

[p] This word is uncertain in the MS.

[q] "Perceptionem."

[r] "Suæ rationis."

[s] "Aliena."

If I further subjoin [an acknowledgment] that Christ the Lord reigns in this celestial glory, and [promotes [t]] our salvation, as the true Son of man, the same who was born of the Virgin Mary, a true Man, truly endowed with a human body, and that, finite and definite, of the very nature and property of our own, sin only excepted,—do I not most fully exclude every possible opinion, inconsistent with the truth of a human nature, and of a true human body, in the Lord?

If, then, it is possible, in the very words of the Lord and of the Holy Spirit, to acknowledge both a true nature of man, and a true human body, and celestial glory, to be in the Lord; and also at the same time [to admit] His presence among us, His dwelling in us, and His being fed upon[u] by us;—I confess I am horrified when I see that they, or others, so carefully shun those words of the Lord and of the Holy Spirit, in which is commended to us that Mystery, (fraught with the highest consolation, and eternal life,) of communion with the Son of God which He offers us in the Word, in Baptism, in the Eucharist, by which we are one flesh with Him, His members, and, dwelling in Him, have Him dwelling in us.

We have experienced, by many evils in the Church, what injury is inflicted on pure religion, if, in the minutest point (as it might be thought), we recede from the Lord's words, even when He speaks only of the mysteries of our salvation; and if, in concession to our prudence, we make any modification of the word of the Lord. We also experience daily, among [worldly[v]] men, how much contempt of the whole ministry, as well as detestation[w] of all the discipline of Christ, is introduced by Satan, through the means of that doctrine and of those books in which Christ is declared to be more absent than present in His Mysteries; and in which greater labour is spent in explaining what the Mystery[x] does not [accomplish[y]] than what Christ

[t] A doubtful word in the MS.; apparently "partivere," probably copied erroneously for "promovere."

[u] "Manducationem."

[v] An unintelligible word in the MS., supplied conjecturally in this translation.

[w] Literally "hissing"—"exibilatio."

[x] "Ministerium" in the MS.; but probably for "Mysterium," which the latter part of the sentence seems to require.

[y] An obscure word in the MS.

does confer by it when rightly administered and received by faith. But the very thought is shocking to me, that the Holy Spirit does not work a singular [. . . . . .[z]] of our salvation, even by those very full metaphors of the communion of Christ.

These are the reasons why I would willingly and most scrupulously make use of all the words of the Lord and of the Holy Spirit, whenever I speak of this Mystery of the Lord, as indeed of other matters. I would shut out all unworthy conceptions of Christ, which might intrude by reason of such grand figures,[a] rather by explanations of such figures, (those [explanations] being taken from the very words of the Lord,) than by any declination [from the use] of the very words of the Lord. When I perceive how Satan avails himself of a feeble[b] method of speaking of the Mysteries of Christ, to produce contempt of all the Mysteries of Christ, of His presence in them, and of their efficacy;—I am truly horrified to observe that such [phraseology] is in any way confirmed, or is becoming prevalent. On this account, the greater praises are due to God, if he shall so order it, that the Zurichians admit your first Appendix.[c]

2. Another thing which I could desire them to do, is this:—to rest satisfied that Christians should acknowledge that the Lord, as man, abides in heaven, not in this world; that He is not every where, or in several places, at the same time, locally; that He is not in any way diffused; that He has a finite and definite body. I would not have them make a new Article of Faith[d] on the certain place in heaven in which the body of Christ is contained, and sits comprehended. Nor do I see why,

[z] The word is not clear in the MS.: it is apparently "momentum;" possibly "incrementum."

[a] "Tropi." [b] "Dilutior."

[c] The Ministers of Zurich *did* adopt it, as the Fifth Head of their "Consent." See the Original in Niemeyer, p. 193; and an English Translation of it, as proposed by Calvin, supra, p. 96.

[d] Bucer is here objecting to the XXVth Head of the "ZURICH CONSENT," (which was the 19th Head of the Propositions sent by Calvin to the Bernese Ministers, in March, 1549,) and is as follows:—

XXV. "Lest any ambiguity should remain, when we say that Christ is to be sought in heaven, this form of speech intimates to us and expresses distance of places. For although, philosophically speaking, there is no place above the heavens; yet, since the body of Christ, according to the nature and mode of a human body, is finite, and is contained in heaven, as in a place, of necessity it

by the name of the heavens, or rather of those [spaces] which are above the heavens, (—for "He ascended up far above all heavens"[e]—) in which Christ sits at the right hand of the Father, we ought to understand rather a comprehension of place, than a Divine condition and a celestial glory; which, indeed, we *do* understand when we say, "Our Father which art in heaven." Nor, assuredly, do I see that the holy Fathers, when they assign to the Lord a proper and one place in heaven, intended to say more than that the Lord, in respect of His human nature, is not, as God, diffused every where and in all things. Moreover, it is plain, whatever was their meaning in those expressions, that no Article of Faith can be established from their words or opinions.

I am by no means disposed, indeed, strongly to oppose those who fix the Lord in one place in heaven. For even though I should grant that the Lord is contained in one place in heaven, (as the sun is always comprehended in one place, and yet is present at the same time to so many thousands of men,) such a concession would by no means be inconsistent with that presence of the Lord in His Mysteries which I allow, and which is only of faith, not of sense, not of reason. But I cannot assent, that, from this dogma, (whether it be the Holy[f] Fathers', or their own,) they should make an Article of Faith; and yet they certainly seem to wish to do so, rather however in that interpretation which they have wrung from Musculus, than in your Formula.[g] For my part, I scruple to affirm any thing respecting Christ which Scripture does not teach. Moreover, I perceive that Satan does as much mischief to true piety, among ourselves who have renounced the Pope, by making Christ absent from

is distant from us by as great an interval of places as there is between heaven and earth." See the original Latin in Niemeyer, p. 196.

[e] [Eph. iv. 10.]

[f] "As it is impious not to believe that the Son of God in respect of the Divinity is incorporeal, so it is profane not to believe and profess that the same Son of God, in respect of His assumption of manhood, is visibly and locally corporeal since the resurrection." Augustin, on the Essence of the Divinity, Opera, Tom. iv., f. 975. "Sicut Dei filium secundum Divinitatem incorporeum non credere impium est, ita eundem Dei filium in hominem assumptum visibiliter corporeum atque localiter post Resurrectionem non credere et profiteri, profanum est." [Bucer's note.]

[g] "Magis tamen in eâ quam a Musculo interpretationem expresserunt, quam in vestrâ Formula." See the end of this letter; and also No. XXVIII.

His Holy and Sacred Mysteries, and included in a certain place in heaven, as he does harm among the Papists by fixing Him in the Sacraments. The latter adore an idol of the bread, the former an idol of their own thoughts, instead of Christ. If they do not plainly despise His Mysteries, they certainly do not use them with a becoming devoutness. Wherever that feeble[h] way of speaking of the Sacraments, and that affirmation of the absence of Christ from us, has prevailed, there will be found a vast number of persons, now-a-days, who never partake of the Lord's Supper; except, indeed, when they have been compelled, in some sort, by the Magistracy, to communicate at the Lord's Table.[i]

Since no one has ever held that Christ is present in the Supper locally, or in any earthly way which could contravene the Ascension of the Lord into heaven; it has always appeared to me, after a very diligent consideration of those Mysteries, that the objection, to the falsely-conceived presence of the Lord in the Bread or the Supper, grounded on the Ascension of the Lord into heaven, is beside the [k] mark: for the Lord, from the very fact of His having ascended to heaven,[l] assures us that He will vouchsafe His presence by His Word and Sacraments. Now I do not see what false notion of the presence of Christ can here be entertained, which is not evidently and wholly excluded, provided we maintain,—that the Lord simply offers Himself as present to His disciples by His Word and Sacraments, through that administration of them which He Himself has enjoined;—that He is only to be received and enjoyed by faith, not merely as He suffered for us, but also as He reigns in heaven and in the very celestial glory;—that He exhibits Himself present to us by the mirror and enigma of words and visible signs;—that He is our Head, and fully affords to us and perfects in us all the things which belong to the Head.[m]

Hence, it is an abominable idol to entertain any notion of

[h] "Dilutior."

[i] "The structure of this long and obscurely-involved sentence has been somewhat altered in this translation.

[k] "Non idonea."

[l] "Ex eo ipso quòd in Cœlos ascendit, præstet se, ut dixit, presentem, &c." The meaning is not quite clear.

[m] This very involved sentence has been broken into detached portions, in this translation, for perspicuity.

Christ as included in the bread itself, or in the form (*species*) of the bread; either in the use of the Supper, or without its use. For Christ said to His disciples, not to the symbols, "Take," and, "This is my Body." He did not say this of the bread, but of that which He gave to His disciples by bread as the sign of exhibition: as clearly appears by the words which follow,—"which is given, &c."

Banishing, therefore, from this Mystery every notion of any presence of Christ which is of this world, or can be excogitated by the human mind, and acknowledging a presence which is solely of faith apprehending Christ in his celestial glory; (although that faith is [the act] of man[n] still dwelling on earth and in the world; and although, moreover, the Lord makes use of expressions and signs of this world for this exhibition of Himself); truly I do not see what chink lies open in this doctrine, through which any one, even an acute Devil, can introduce any notion unworthy of these Mysteries. Such an abuse is the less to be feared, since we confess with open mouth all that the Scripture has on the celestial glory of the Lord, and we condemn whatever has been brought in to this doctrine, and to the use of the Sacraments, by man's conceit.[o]

These considerations bind me, by a scrupulous determination, not to approve, still less dogmatically to affirm, any thing which Scripture has not declared concerning the locality of Christ; nor even to feel disposed to conclude from passages respecting the celestial glory of the Lord, that the Lord is in every sense[p] absent from His own in the Supper. Nor am I satisfied with that interpretation of those passages, in which He has promised that "He is with" his people "always, even to the end of the world;" that "wherever they are gathered together in His Name He is in the midst of them;" that "He dwells in their hearts by faith;" that "He and His Father dwell with us;" &c., &c.: since the Lord is said so to be with His own, according to His Divine nature, for, according to this, He is everywhere. But in these [other] promises, He pledges to His people a presence, as Mediator, aye, and as Man; nevertheless a presence which we perceive only by faith, and by the fruition of Christ

[n] "Utcumque hominis sit ea fides agentis adhuc in terrâ et in mundo."

[o] "Humanitus."

[p] "Simpliciter."

through faith; [a presence] which no distance of places can impede, which no nearness can by itself assist.

8. The third thing which I desiderate in those men, is, that they inflict the greatest injury on Luther, and on the Churches which follow him, consisting of multitudes of the most holy souls, while they so condemn their words, and prohibit the adoption of them, as though they included or affixed Christ in the symbols, locally, or in some similar manner; or as if they introduced into this matter any notion unworthy of Christ. I have discussed and rediscussed the whole of this controversy with many, and even the most rigid, Lutherans, both in conversation, and in [their more deliberately declared] sentiments; yet I never could discover that they entertained any other opinion, than that Christ is truly given or received[q] in the Supper, whether He be said [to be taken] *in* the bread, or *under* the bread, or *through* the bread: and that He is so given and received,[r] that no notion whatever of an ascent or descent of the Lord is to be formed; none, of a reception of the Lord by sense, or by reason, or by anything else than faith. I allow, however, that they have been harshly-reluctant to admit our very explicit declarations on the mode of the presence, and have falsely imputed to *us* an emptying of the Sacraments; as [unjustly as] some persons on our side have attributed to *them*, a presence of which they never dreamed. At the very beginning of the contention, they involved the subject in darkness, by their inference, that, since Christ is whole, wherever He is, there is [both] God and Man; that, if the Word is everywhere, God and Man also is everywhere. However, afterwards, the subject being better explained, all began to condemn the Ubiquity of the Man-Christ, as Dr. Philip [Melancthon] calls it. This [notion] I have always reprehended: and yet John Hopper,[s] an Englishman, who lately returned from Zurich into England, dared to spread the report publicly, that I maintained that Christ's body is everywhere as God. Such conduct does not proceed from the Spirit of God. Even Bullinger himself wrote into England, "that he was desirous of knowing how I carried myself." As though it were right that Satan should be excited against me even here! that it

[q] "Percipi." [r] "Accipi." [s] Hooper.

were not enough for me, at my age, to be an exile from my country; cast out from my beloved Church, from my School, from the State (in which, however, I have laboured somewhat by the grace of the Lord); excluded from my sweetest friends and brethren; living in a nation, humane and friendly I allow, but of whose language I am ignorant, to whose diet I am altogether unaccustomed, to whose manners I am unhabituated, and in which I have no certain prospect of doing anything worth my labour! As to charity—you know how wide it opens its arms; what it [tolerates [t]], what it dissembles, among the brethren; you know how it seeks to win consent among all the sons of God. For myself, this is my anxious desire; whether I teach, or write, or dispute, concerning this Mystery, to use the words of the Lord and of Scripture; and so to explain them, (also in the words of Scripture, and by distinct exclusions of all errors which I might fear as capable of being introduced by occasion of those words,) as to declare, as far as I can, that I most fully consent, 1stly, with the Lord Himself and the Holy Spirit; 2dly, with the true and orthodox Church of primitive times; 3dly, with all the sons of God of the present age of whatever party they may seem to be through human infirmity. [I desire,] further, that I should appear anxious to avoid in every way attributing to any one, in these matters [any dogma [u]], or even drawing him into suspicion of any dogma, which I myself do not hold. The days are evil; we who seriously are seeking the kingdom of Christ, are very few and but too weak; His discipline is shunned everywhere, even by *our* people. The ministry of Christ, the ministry of the Spirit not of the letter, the ministry of the New Testament,—where, I ask, is it to be found in its proper position? These things admonish me, and make me desirous, that the greatest scrupulosity should be shewn in treating of the Mysteries of Christ (—all, indeed—but specially that one which is implicated in controversies and entangled in offences—) that nothing [should be introduced [v]] beyond the Spirit and Words of the Lord, nothing which may offend any one of Christ's least ones, nothing which may disgrace our conjunction in the Lord and charity. You and your friends have written everything

[t] This word is conjectural, being lost in binding the MS.

[u] Supplied, in the margin, by a later hand.

[v] Some words of this sort are wanting, in the MS., to complete the sense.

devoutly, cautiously, and amicably. But they have wrung[w] from the excellent Musculus such an interpretation[x] as strengthens the very iniquitous report concerning him,—I mean that he has retracted what he wrote most purely and holily on this Mystery in his [Commentary[y] on] Matthew: this cannot fail to occasion great offence among many excellent individuals and Churches of Christ. * * * *

[N.B. *The letter here ends abruptly; the next leaf, or leaves, of the copy being lost.*]

[MARTIN BUCER.]

XXVIII.

WOLFGANG MUSCULUS'S EXPLANATION[z] ON THE SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF THE LORD.

Probably in 1549.

[MSS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 102, f. 287—a cotemporary copy in the same hand as the preceding letter of Bucer.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

1. In the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, as in [that of] Baptism, as far as relates to the external and symbolical

[w] "Expresserunt."

[x] This "*Interpretation*" is the "*Explanation*" given by Musculus about his misunderstood views of the Eucharist, which is printed in the next Article, No. XXVIII.: it is a valuable and scriptural statement on the subject.—There is, however, a letter of Musculus of a very different character (probably written many years earlier), in MSS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, f. 187, without date or address, in which he apologizes for, and seems to adopt, "pomp" in the celebration of the Eucharist, the invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead. In fact, Musculus greatly modified his views on the Sacramental question, and abandoned all approach to the Lutheran opinions; a circumstance which seems to have greatly disconcerted Bucer. Musculus had indeed, so far back as 1536, declined to concur in the compromise which Bucer made with Luther, in the Wittenberg Conference.

[y] Musculi Comment. in Evang. Matthæi, cap. xxvi. vv. 26, 27, pp. 548, 561, folio, Basileæ, 1544.

[z] In reading this valuable paper of Musculus, on the character and effect of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,—let it be borne in mind that Musculus

action, all things are Sacramental, and are to be understood Sacramentally; but, as concerns the Thing itself, of which the Bread and the Wine are Sacraments, all things (according to Chrysostom) are to be considered (*νοητα*) as spiritual, and are to be taken spiritually.

2. That no miraculous operation takes place in the symbolical Bread and Wine, is allowed even by St. Augustin (De Trinitate, lib. iii., cap. 10). Hence the fiction of transubstantiation is not only empty, but also superstitious, and detestable. The external things, the Bread and the Wine, retain their nature and essence, not only before, but also during and after, the mystical action.

3. No corporeal presence, or local inclusion, of the Body and the Blood of the Lord, in the Bread and the Wine, is to be affirmed: but, as concerns this [presence], we must believe agreeably to the Catholic faith, as we must confess with St. Augustin, that Christ Jesus, our Lord and Saviour, ascended into the heavens as a true man, and is contained there in some one place, according to the mode of a true body. And on this account, the argument from the omnipotence of God, to prove the corporeal presence of Christ in the Bread, is adduced altogether impertinently. Moreover, those words, in the Bread, under the Bread, under the species of Bread, corporally, and all other expressions of that kind, are foreign to the true meaning of this Sacrament, and give occasion for the excitement both of great superstitions and also of quarrels.

4. Nor ought the grace of this Mystery of redemption,[a] (that is, [the grace of] reconciliation and remission of sins,) to be tied to the sacramental Sign, and to the use; but it is to be received, by the truly faithful, free,[b] and by faith alone, whether without or within the use of the Sacrament.

had previously, and so lately as 1544 (see note (x), p. 108), expressed himself in very different language. And yet, notwithstanding this development of his views, he was invited by Cranmer, in the summer of 1548, on his quitting Augsburg on account of the Interim, to come into England and to take a lectureship at Cambridge. Moreover, in 1551, after Bucer's death, he was again urged by the Archbishop to come and occupy the vacant post.

[a] This is the precise view of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper which is given in Article XXVIII. of the Church of England, where it is stated to be "a Sacrament of our redemption."

[b] "Libera percipi."

5. The eating[c] of the Body of Christ, as respects its external Sign, is sacramental, and common to all who [d] eat; but, as concerns the Thing itself, Christ, the food of eternal life, it is spiritual and of faith alone, and consequently is common only to the truly faithful. Hence is that [saying] of Augustin,—"Why dost thou prepare thy tooth and thy stomach? believe, and thou hast eaten."[e]

6. That faith, by which alone we eat and drink the Flesh and the Blood of Christ, truly and to eternal life, is not [that] by which anyone, after papistical superstition,—believes, aye, does *not* believe, but—imagines[f] that the Body and Blood of Christ are contained, miraculously and locally, by a corporal presence, either under the bread, or under the species of Bread and Wine; but [that] by which the truly faithful [man] most firmly believes that Jesus Christ the Son of God came into this world for the redemption of mankind, and offered Himself to God the Father once on the Cross as the victim[g] of reconciliation, and reconciled the world to Him, and does not doubt that he himself also is made a partaker of this grace.

I have desired to express these [views] for this reason,—that I might declare [my meaning with regard to] those things which I wrote in my Commentaries on Matthew on the matter of the Lord's Supper, respecting a double kind of Signs, and the exhibition of the Body and Blood of Christ,—on account of those who, being too inconsiderately intent on my words, do not observe my mind, and who therefore endeavour, out of them, to assert and confirm certain aforesaid absurd opinions. I could wish that such persons would read more purely and uncorruptedly[h] those things which are written sacramentally and mystically concerning sacramental and mystical matters; and that they would not imagine that those things, which are spoken in a symbolical mode of speech, (by no means unusual in the Sacred Scriptures,) are spoken absolutely.[i] For, as Augustin has admonished [us], nothing is more servile than to embrace

[c] "Manducatio." [d] "Vescentibus."
[e] "Manducasti." [f] "Opinetur." [g] "Hostiam."
[h] Such seems to be the idea intended by the strange word "*defecatius*."
[i] "Propriè."

the Signs of things for the Things themselves; and those things which are spoken figuratively, as if they had been said absolutely.[k]

WOLFGANG MUSCULUS.

☞ "*This corresponds with the Original Paper from which it has been taken.*"—[Note by the cotemporary copyist.]

XXIX.

BULLINGER TO DRYANDER.

ZURICH, *August* 31, 1549.

[Latin Autograph, MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, f. 183.—There is a copy, in the margin, in a minute and probably cotemporary hand.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

HEALTH.—Excellent Sir, and dearest Brother,—That I may not appear ungrateful towards so well-deserving a friend, I write these few words to you. Your last, written from Cambridge[l] on the 5th of June, reached me about the end of July; together with a Writing[m] sent to me by the celebrated man D. Vadian;[n] for which I return you my thanks.

You are not ignorant of my judgment on these matters;[o] nor

[k] "Propriè."

[l] This letter is printed in Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 350.

[m] This "Writing" was "a compendium in Latin" of the first Book of Common Prayer for the Church of England, *i. e.*, King Edward's first Liturgy, 1549. Dryander transmitted this to Vadian (see the letter, Original Letters, p. 352) on the same day in which he wrote to Bullinger.

[n] Joachim Vadian was born at St. Gall, in Switzerland, 1484. He was celebrated as a scholar and mathematician. A letter from Cranmer to him (disapproving his treatise in six books, "Aphorisms on the Consideration of the Eucharist"), supposed to have been written in 1537, is printed in Cranmer's Works, i., 342, edit. Parker Society; and in Orig. Letters, Parker Society, p. 11. Nine years later, 1546, Cranmer adopted, in substance, Vadian's opinions.

[o] On the semi-Popish character of King Edward's first Liturgy, to which Dryander had called his attention. (See Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 351.)

is it safe to commit my opinion to writing, lest I should compromise my friends, and good men. I pray the Lord to vouchsafe to some persons more of the spirit of sincerity and of simplicity of mind: for thus there would be more peace in God, and less disturbance.

D. Hopper,[p] to whom I have written fully upon all our matters, will better explain to you what is being done here; for I cannot write to you, my dear acquaintance and friend, so fully as I could wish; but I know that you will be content, and be easily satisfied.

A Conference of nearly three days has taken place between D. Calvin and us the ministers of the Gospel at Zurich, and we have come to an excellent[q] understanding on the Sacramentarian Question. I have sent the Heads of the "Consent" to D. Hopper: I am confident they will please you very much.

All the Swiss, except the people of Zurich, Berne, and Val . . . .[r] have consented to the Gallic League. Probably within a few days they will march a strong army into Picardy; although I cannot say with certainty what measures will be taken.

Farewell, beloved brother; remember me always in your prayers. All ours salute you: D. Pellican, Theodore, Gualter, Gesner, Wolph, my son-in-law Zuingle, Francis Ammian, Collins, V . . . .[r], and your other acquaintances.

Zurich, August 31, 1549.

Thine,

BULLINGER.

To the accomplished man, D. Francis Dryander, his singular friend, Professor of [Greek] Literature, at Cambridge.

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[p] Hooper.

[q] "Pulchrè."

[r] These words are not distinct; and are left blank in the marginal duplicate copy, which accompanies Bullinger's Autograph.

XXX.

BULLINGER TO UTENHOVEN.

ZURICH, *August* 31, 1549.

[Autograph, in the Archives of the Belgic Church, Austin Friars, London. Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV., i., 429.]

† *Translation, now first published.*

WITH great pleasure have I read your letter, excellent man, dated [s] Strasburgh, July 7. I could not send such a distance, in a parcel, Bucer's writings, which are many. Carriers, you know, abhor books, and bundles of letters. If you can get hold of his work "*In IV. Evangelistas,*" published in 1530, you will find the whole of the Disputation [t] which you wish to see. If you cannot procure a copy of that book, I will take care to supply you with a transcript at some other time; but, in truth, I could not persuade the carrier [to take charge of it,] for he said, it was at the risk of his life that he conveyed books of that sort.

Burcher asked nothing from me; for I would not deny him my assistance in anything.

I have sent to Hooper, with a request that he would lend it to you, the Consent between myself and Calvin on the Sacramentarian matter, written out in a regular (*certain*) form. The Bernese have given no decisive answer as to what they will do. We shall perhaps publish it; for we cannot think that the Bernese, or any other good men, will find anything to condemn in so clear a truth. But it is of great importance that other nations should know that we have come to a Consent on every point. . . . .

[I have written] more at length to Master Hooper, who I know will deny you nothing.

Farewell, again, and again, most excellent man, and ever

[s] Printed in Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 583.

[t] The Disputation at Berne, 1528. See Gerdes, Hist. Reformat. sive Annal. Evang., Sæc. XVI. renov. II., 353—360.

respected brother in the Lord. Zurich, August 31, 1549. Master Gualter, Bibliander, &c., salute you. I am in such haste, that I have not read over.

Thine, heartily,

H. BULLINGER.

To the celebrated man Master John Utenhoven, of Ghent, his most respected brother, now living in England, at Cambridge.

XXXI.

CALVIN TO BUCER.

GENEVA, about the middle of *October*,[u] 1549.

[Latin, Calvini Opera IX., 49, col. i., edit. Amstelodami, folio, 1667.]

† *Translation, now first published.*

YOUR letter,[v] though mingling joy and grief, was very gratifying to me. I wish it were in my power in any way to mitigate the sorrow of your mind, and those cares which I see are tormenting you. We all again and again intreat you not to harass yourself without profit; to be cheerful and merry, indeed, in the midst of such various and multiplied matters for mourning, is not consistent with religious feeling, nor is it expedient, nor could we wish it: but it is your duty to endeavour to preserve yourself, as far as you can, for the Lord and for the Church. You have run, it is true, a long part of the course; but you know not how much still remains. Possibly I, who have advanced

[u] Calvin sent Bucer the proposed heads of the "*Zurich Consent*," June 28, 1549. (See his letter, supra, No. XXV.) Bucer's reply to Calvin (see supra, No. XXVII.) was probably written late in August, 1549, for he did not receive Calvin's letter till August 13. Calvin's rejoinder could scarcely have been written earlier than the middle of October of that year.

[v] This was doubtless the letter, without date (printed above, No. XXVII.), written probably late in August of this year, in which Bucer criticised the "*Zurich Consent*."

but a little way from the starting post, am already nearer the goal. Still, the measure and the end of our course is in the Lord's hand. Nevertheless, were I ever so lively, death in many forms is daily before my eyes, when I behold myself surrounded by dangers which threaten me from many quarters.

As external battles trouble you in the land in which you are now dwelling, so we are experiencing lingering[w] fears in this country; although I trust that our internal commotions are settled, and it is reported that a truce exists between you and the French. I wish that terms of a firm peace could be framed: for we see that Fencing-Master, who has set the two kingdoms against each other, laughs at his ease, in the meantime, with the hope of making his fortune at the expense of both, by attacking the conquerors with his unbroken forces, and by gathering the spoils of the conquered without sweat and blood: thus, he will triumph over both, and seize the prey. But, when I consider what bad counsels govern France, I almost despair of this matter. Not, indeed, that they are not sufficiently afraid of him; but, while they arrogantly despise others, they do not sufficiently guard themselves against his craftiness. And, truly, by [permitting] this blindness, the Lord (as I interpret His Providence) is justly avenging their atrocious and daily increasing ferocity against the saints. O that, while impiety is collecting its strength, and daily waxing worse, in that country, —the English would manifest an emulation of a different character, by contending for the absolute purity of Christianity, until all things in that country might be seen to be established according to the single rule of Christ! I have endeavoured, agreeably to your wish, to give the Lord Protector[x] such advice as the present state of things demanded: it will be your duty, also, to urge him by every means, (as I am persuaded you will do, provided an audience be given you,) but especially that rites, which savour at all of superstition, be utterly abolished. I press this on your attention very particularly, in order that you may free yourself from that invidious (though false) imputation, under which, as you are aware, you labour in the minds of

[w] "Lentos timores."

[x] Calvin's letter to the Protector was probably written about the same time that he wrote to Bucer. He could not, then, have been informed of the Duke's commitment to the Tower, which took place Oct. 14, 1549.

many; for they universally consider you as the author, or at least the approver, of half-way[y] counsels. I know that this suspicion is too deeply fixed in the minds of some persons, for it to be easy for you to root it out, even though you omit no effort for that purpose. There are some who malignantly calumniate you, even when no error has given them a plausible reason; and this is a fatal misfortune to you, from which it is scarcely possible for you to escape. The unprincipled will always find some pretext for detraction: take care, however, that no occasion be given to the ignorant for evil suspicion.

I am much grieved that N.[z] . . . is troublesome to you, without reason. I wish he would at length learn to be more gracious.[a] I the more readily overlook this, because I seem to have observed that he is [not[b]] so much impelled by malice, as carried away by a blind impulse. You would hardly believe how atrociously he has sometimes wounded us, and the absent, and the innocent, and his friends. He inveighed especially against Viret with as much violence as if he had been the most wicked traitor to the Church; and that, at a time when he was almost oppressed, undeservedly, by the greatest iniquity of some, and by the perfidy of others. He would assuredly cultivate mildness, if he knew what mischief attends the intemperance of his over-fervid zeal and immoderate austerity. You must swallow this unworthy treatment, as well as other evils, with your accustomed equanimity. He would not, however, be able to approve his cause to the Zurichians.

I not a little differ from you in your opinion, that injustice has been done to the adverse party.[c] For, while you think that they were never so grossly deluded, as to imagine that Christ is ubiquitously diffused, you do not hold in memory what Brentz has written among others, that Christ, while He lay in the

[y] "Mediis consiliis."

[z] Beza has concealed this name, on editing this letter. Bucer had complained to Calvin, of the suspicions of Hooper, and of Bullinger (see above, p. 106); but it is difficult to suppose that Calvin's censure applies to either of these.

[a] "Humanitatem discat."

[b] This word seems necessary to give any sense to this passage.

[c] To the extreme Lutherans, by the "*Zurich Consent*," which had just been set forth by the Churches of Zurich and Geneva. See Bucer's complaint, in his letter, paragraph numbered 3, above, p. 106.

manger, was glorious in heaven, even as regards His Body! To speak openly: you know that the doctrine of the Papists is more modest and sober than is that of Ampsdorph and such as he, who raved like the Priestesses of Apollo. You know how savagely Dr. Philip [Melancthon] was tormented, because he was an advocate for some moderation. Moreover, their delirious fancies drew towards idolatry. For what was the tendency of that Adorable Sacrament of Luther, than to erect an idol in the temple of God? However, I wish all these things to be buried [in oblivion]. Indeed, I have always earnestly contended among our neighbours, that they ought to refrain from [d] railing; though, to satisfy them, I had no hesitation in condemning those errors to which I could by no means consent, suppressing names.

You certainly appear to me to discuss with too much subtlety, the question of *locality*.[e] Others are greatly offended by that obscurity, which they think you have craftily and designedly called to your aid. I think they are wrong; but I do not see why you so greatly shun what we teach,—namely, that when it is said that Christ ascended into heaven, *distance of places* is expressed by this mode of speech.[f] For here the matter in dispute is, not, Whether there be a locality in heavenly glory, but, Whether the Body of Christ be in the world. Since the Scriptures give a clear testimony on that point, I cannot hesitate to embrace it as an Article of Faith. And yet you would not have found it in our "*Consent*," had it not been yielded, after some contention, to the pertinacity [g] of certain persons; for I had otherwise tempered the words.[h] However, as the Form we have adopted contained nothing but what was agreeable to my sentiments, I had no scruple in yielding it to others.

You piously and prudently wish, that the effect of the Sacraments, and what the Lord confers through them, should be more clearly and fully explained than many can bear. No

[d] "Insectatio." [e] The *local* presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

[f] This is the XXVth Article of the "Zurich Consent." See it quoted above, p. 102.

[g] "Morositas."

[h] In the "Consent" as sent to Berne, in March of this year, the words were, —"Corpus Christi, ut fert humani corporis natura, finitum est, et cœlo continetur:"—in the "Consent" as finally settled at Zurich, August 29, the words were,—"Corpus Christi, ut fert humani corporis natura *et modus*, finitum est, et cœlo *ut loco* continetur."

obstacle has been interposed by me, to a more full explanation on some points. We therefore lament, while we bear those things which we have not power to correct. You have, enclosed, a copy of the writing which they sent back to me. They very willingly adopted the two heads[i] which you feared they might not admit. If the rest had followed the mildness of Bullinger, I should easily have obtained everything. It is well, however, that we have consented to the truth, and have grasped the sum of the matter.

If you would but somewhat modify your theses, in two places merely, you would render them much more to the purpose:—namely, [1stly] by your expressing more clearly that you disjoin Christ from us who are in the world by distance of places;—[2ndly] by your rejecting more clearly all the fancies[k] by which the minds of men have been led into superstitions, especially by your claiming their proper glory for the Holy Spirit and for Christ, so that NOTHING SHOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO MINISTERS OR TO ELEMENTS.

The initial proceedings in our Act for framing a "*Consent,*" indicated nothing but mere desperation. A sudden light beamed on us. The leading men were willing to communicate with other Churches. We consented, without reluctance. That N. dissented, must be borne with equanimity. Farell, as you will see, has written to you copiously. Viret dares not, for you cannot think how shamefully he has been treated: however, he sends his kindest regards to you, and begs you will excuse him. All my colleagues salute you reverently. There are no news here, except that Zurich and Berne have cut off all hope of treaty with France.

Farewell, distinguished Sir, and much respected Father in the Lord.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

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[i] See them in Calvin's letter to Bucer, above, p. 96: they form Articles V. and XXIII. of the "Zurich Consent." See also Bucer's reply to Calvin, p. 100.

[k] "Commenta."

XXXII.

MELANCTHON TO BUCER.

[WITTENBERG], *October* 18, 1549.

[Original Latin, MSS. Brit. Mus. Addit. 19,400, No. 1.]

* *Now first published.*[1]—*Translation.*

HEALTH.—Reverend Sir, and dear Friend,—By the kindness of God the study of Divine things flourishes moderately in these neighbouring Universities, and no change of doctrines or rites has taken place in the Churches. Flacius Illyricus,[m] a factious man, wages war with us on the linen Vestments; but you may guess what result it has. I send you the Oration on Cruciger, which will shew the studies of this University. I intreat you to write often concerning the Churches and Francis Dryander. . . . I could wish that my Interpretation of Sophocles were dedicated

[1] Not published in Melancthon's Epistles.

[m] Matthias Flacius Illyricus, born at Albona in Istria, 1520, was Professor of Divinity at Jena, and died 1575. He was a violent polemic. He severely attacked Melancthon, from Magdeburg. Melancthon suspected that he acted out of spite that he had not obtained a vacant Professorship at Wittenberg. Flacius, with the exiled Bishop Amsdorf, and others, erected what they called *The Chancery of God;* a body which sent forth one abusive tract after another against the Saxon Theologians, particularly Melancthon, for having complied with some parts of *the Interim.* (Matthes. Leben Melancthons, p. 306.) Melancthon took no notice till 1549, and then answered with great moderation. Flacius replied, by publishing a number of letters which Melancthon had written to Luther, during the Diet of Augsburg, 1530, proclaiming Melancthon to the world as a timid, pusilanimous man, and he accompanied them with bitter annotations. Melancthon writes, to Hubert Languet, "I wish the Flacian faction not only beyond the Hircinian woods, but also beyond the Riphæan mountains." (Epp. Lib. ii., 573.) "I am not broken in mind, on account of the Flacian sycophants." (Ibid., 574.) "The Flacian mob has a favourable reception among the common people and in the Courts." (ii., 597.) There is a complimentary letter to him from Archbishop Parker (Zurich Letters, ii., 77), and a letter from him to Parker (Parker's Correspondence, 139).

to the King of England, which you will take care to shew him, and to adorn the gift. Farewell. On St. Luke's day, [Oct. 18,] 1549.

PHILIP MELANCTHON.

To the Reverend man, D. Martin Bucer, excelling in erudition and virtue, teaching the Gospel in England, his dearest Brother.

XXXIII.

BUCER TO HARDENBERG.°

CAMBRIDGE, *October* 22, 1549.

[Printed in Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, p. 863, fol. Basil. 1577: also in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV., ii., 699, 4to. Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation now first published.*

VENERABLE and courageous Brother; may grace, consolation, and peace be very abundantly increased to you from our heavenly Father through our Lord Jesus Christ. I wrote to you a month ago, [entreating you] to send a preacher, learned for the kingdom of Christ, and zealous for the discipline of Christ, for the Germans who live in London. I am uncertain whether that letter has yet been delivered to you, since you have written nothing in reply. I have therefore thought good to write to you again, and to beseech you to undertake this care for our countrymen. I have admonished them before hand as to the true office of an Evangelical teacher; I have admonished them on discipline, without which no faithful minister of Christ can fulfil his ministry with a peaceful mind; I have admonished

° Albert Hardenberg was brought up at Louvaine. He commenced his labours at a monastery in Groningen, whence he removed to Cologne at the invitation of Archbishop Herman. He presided over the Reformed Church at Bremen, 1547-1561, when he retired to Embden to avoid the troubles of the Ubiquitarian controversy; he died there in 1574.

them concerning the Catechism. They promise that they will place themselves entirely under the Lord's yoke, and that they will cherish a faithful minister of Christ with double honour; and they are men in whom I am bound to place my confidence. I therefore pray and beseech you in the Lord, that you would send as quickly as possible one whom you yourself can approve. He must be able to speak your language, for these are Germans, almost all natives of Lower Germany. During the persecution which at present rages among you, it will be easy for you to find such a person. Do not be dissuaded from this plan, although you may have heard something about the new disturbance[p] in this kingdom; nor let vulgar rumours, which so often mix much falsehood with truth, disturb you.

If the Brother whom you may send is in the habit of explaining the Mystery of the Eucharist in the words of Scripture, he will be the more acceptable on this account, as acknowledging that the Lord gives[q] Himself to us in the Eucharist, as in Baptism, by that giving and communion by which He makes us His members; which communion we receive only by a living faith, not by any manner of this world. For the Lord here uses Bread and Wine in no other way than He does Water in Baptism; hence these symbols remain unchanged in their nature, as Water in Baptism. For the Lord did not say to symbols, but to His disciples, Take and Eat: therefore the Body of the Lord is neither included in Symbols, nor affixed to Bread; as the Holy Spirit was not in the breath of the mouth of the Lord, when, breathing on His disciples, He gave this [Spirit] to them: these signs are only exhibitive. If then we acknowledge that a true communion of Christ, (which of necessity must be increased continually in us while we are here pilgrims from the Lord,[r]) is truly exhibited in the Eucharist, but nevertheless we add, that it is to be received BY FAITH ALONE,[s] and that, a living [faith], and we leave the symbols altogether unchanged;—I do not see any thing of a superstitious idea which is not excluded; neither do I see any reason for disputing about the place in heaven in which Christ reigns. Faith embraces her Christ and enjoys Him, and truly eats and drinks Him; she is neither assisted nor

[p] The rebellion in Devonshire and Cornwall.

[q] "Tradere."

[r] "Ibi à Domino peregrinamur."

[s] Bucer's CAPITALS.

impeded by any places, by any intervals:[t] much less is the influence[u] of Christ communicating Himself to us His members.

I find that this simplicity pleases all who bring their reverence to the Mysteries, and love the discipline of Christ. But I have no desire that scrupulosity should be shewn to any one who does not deprive us, the members of Christ, of Christ our Head; and who does not exhibit to us the Supper of Christ without Christ. For He is in the midst of us, not only as God, but also as the Mediator who renders our prayers effectual wherever we have met together in His name: and whosoever eats His flesh and drinks His blood, dwelleth in Him and He in him.

This presence and conjunction of my Lord no one can take from me, and we can easily agree on other matters. But you have known this my faith long ago; and I hear that you have interposed and managed with wonderful ability yonder, that those who have hitherto spoken of the symbols harshly, now shew themselves more mild, and that there is a pious consent among the ministers.

What I have now written on this matter, is the reason why I ask for a preacher. I could wish such an one to be sent as would have at heart a reverence for the Mysteries, without which discipline and communion of the brethren in Christ cannot be restored.

I desire that you and all yours may fare right well, and escape all the dangers of this world. Amen.

Cambridge, October 22, 1549.

Yours,

MARTIN BUCER.

[*To Albert Hardenberg, Minister at Embden.*]

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[t] "Intercapedinibus."

[u] "Virtus."

XXXIV.

MARTYR TO BUCER.

OXFORD, *December* 18, [1549].

[Holograph, Latin, MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 102, pp. 107—109.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

WISHING MUCH HEALTH.—Is the hand of the Lord, indeed, so heavy upon His [people], that we are always to hear of still more sorrowful things succeeding those which we imagine to be the most sorrowful? Truly, the Lord begins judgments at His own house. It is but recently that, by reason of the decease[v] of our Fagius, that excellent and accomplished soldier of Christ, our affliction was so intense, that it never entered our minds to conceive that it could possibly be increased. The death of such a man brought with it enough and more than enough of sorrow; while I contemplated the scanty supply of persons fitted to occupy stations of importance in the Church of Christ, now more desolate in this respect than at any former period; while I reflected on the immense loss sustained by Hebrew Literature, through his decease at an age still vigorous and robust; and while I bore in mind, that he has left his family almost destitute of temporal support. I willingly refrain to mention many other circumstances, which have rendered my bereavement, through the loss of this man, peculiarly distressing to me; *so* afflicting,

[v] Fagius died at Cambridge, November 13, 1549, ætatis circa 45. Strype makes the singularly erroneous assertion, (Cranmer, I. 283,) that "the next year," after 1549, "the last day of February, Bucer followed his companion to the other world:" whereas he died in 1551. In the Original Letters, edited for the Parker Society, (p. 549,) a letter from Bucer on the death of Fagius, is erroneously assigned to December 26, 1550, instead of 1549; which latter date is correctly given to it in Hesse's MS. Catalogue in possession of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford. In a letter from Burcher to Bullinger (Original Letters, p. 675,) which mentions the death of Fagius in the preceding November, the date is erroneously printed January 6, 1551, instead of 1550.

that I was inclined to think that I had been visited by calamities, deserved indeed, but sufficient to fill up my measure for many days to come.[w] But your letter, and the person by whom it was delivered to me, give me to understand that the matter is far otherwise; namely, that your health is nót re-established, as I had supposed, but that you are severely afflicted with an illness which, I doubt not, has assumed a more violent character through the grief occasioned by the decease of so faithful and beloved a brother. Your distress from this cause, as I perceive by your letter, has been increased by other, and those not light, anxieties—an inconvenient habitation,—a constitution impatient of cold,—a slender income,—your Patent[x] not yet signed by the Government,—and the late and uncertain payment of your pensions. These things are so distressing, that, when I observe how they affect you, (for nothing can happen to you which does not call forth my sympathy,) I become so afflicted, that, so far from being capable of administering consolation to you, I rather need some one to console myself. I know, however, you do not forget that all things work together for good to them that love God; and I am sure you call to mind with unshaken hope, that God, who has wonderfully preserved you in the midst of very many manifest dangers up to the present moment, will not desert you in your present [troubles]. Moreover, you are fully persuaded that the adversities of this life will by no means continue for ever; and that the first steps of the most prosperous events, have many impediments, many difficulties attending upon them. There is a multitude of other [considerations], which at the present moment I have neither inclination nor ability to recount, and which are so well known to you, that you can readily supply them, both to others and to yourself, whenever it may be needful. For myself, though I know some things of this kind, yet, when the conflict comes, I find myself unaccountably and exceedingly deficient in applying them: on this account, I find myself more dejected than I ought to be. On the other hand, I observe that you have a firmer mind. You have a familiar acquaintance with the Divine Scriptures; a

[w] "Nos ad multos dies calamitatibus meritis esse defunctos."

[x] "Literæ adhuc a Magistratu nondum consignatæ." Probably the Patent for Bucer's Professorship, dated December 4, 1549; but of which he had not received advice when he wrote last to Peter Martyr.

consciousness of having well administered the affairs of the Kingdom[y] of Christ; and, above all, the invincible shield of faith, by which you possess a full confidence (πληροφορια) and entire persuasion, that none of the calamities of this world can tear us away from that immense love of God, which He has freely and most abundantly bestowed on us through Jesus Christ our Lord. By these considerations, without doubt, you refresh your mind, in the midst of bodily afflictions and mental tribulations; nor do you need to seek consolation through my means; hence, I abstain from offering you this kind of aid.

But you ask my prayers; and these I unceasingly offer to the Lord our Father through Jesus Christ. Moreover, I will take the earliest opportunity of writing to our common Patron,[z] concerning these matters, unless I shall have heard that they are going on better; not, indeed, with the intention of rendering him more kindly disposed towards you than he is at present, (for I know with what sentiments he regards your distinguished qualities,) but that I may awaken his attention in the midst of those occupations which press so heavily upon him. Let me add, that, if you will inform me how much money you need, you shall immediately be supplied from those resources which the Lord has given me; for there is nothing, be it what it may, which I would not cheerfully and promptly share with you. To prevent, therefore, your borrowing from others rather than from me, I will send our Julius to you, from whom you may be supplied with whatever you may judge necessary. Indeed, I myself should have visited you with the greatest pleasure; and possibly the season of the Christmas Festival might not have been an inconvenient time; but I am afflicted with so much weakness, that I cannot venture on any bodily exertion, beyond my studies, and those very moderate; and I find it difficult to get rid of the maladies which attacked me this autumn.

As to the affairs of this world, I have no news to communicate to you. I suppose you have heard of the death of the Roman Pontiff;[a] and that the legates of the Emperor[b] have come over into England: may both events promote the good of the Church of Christ!

[y] "Respublica."

[a] Paul III. died November 10, 1549.

[z] Archbishop Cranmer.

[b] "Cæsaris":—Charles V.

As to my private matters, I will just say one or two words. The Oxonians go on tolerably quietly, at present; God grant they may continue to restrain themselves within the same bounds. Theological Disputations have not yet been resumed, agreeably to the recent Royal proclamations;[c] indeed, I much fear, should they take place, that they will be promotive of tumult rather than of edification—which is the necessary result, when men are searching for a handle of contention, not for the truth.

I wrote to you a month ago; and I enclosed a letter which it is my intention to send to our Strasburgh School-Governors.[d] Since you do not inform me that you have received it, I suppose it had not been delivered to you when you wrote to me. As I am anxious on that matter, I entreat you, if your health permits, inform me of the fact, when you shall have received it.

My wife and Julius are exceedingly earnest in their wishes for your health; you cannot imagine how anxious we all are about your matters. If God should speedily restore you, according to our prayers, he will relieve us, by this interposition, from a great and heavy trouble.

Salute, I pray you, in our name, your wife, your daughter, and all your family. Farewell. Oxford, December 18, [1549].

Since I received your letter only the day before yesterday, I reply to it so late.

Yours, ex animo,

P. MARTYR.

To the distinguished man, and most faithful Minister of the Word of God, Master Martin Bucer, at Cambridge.

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[c] "Decreta Regis."

[d] "Scholarchas."

XXXV.

CALVIN TO BUCER.

Not dated. Probably 1549.[e]

[Latin, Calvini Opera IX., 50, col. 1, edit. Amstelodami, folio, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.*

ALL acknowledge that truth is most precious; as, indeed, it is. But, since God is the only fountain of all good, if at any time any truth occurs to your mind, you must not doubt (unless you would be doubly ungrateful to God,) that it has proceeded from Himself, any more than if a voice had come down to you from heaven. For as it is sinful to pass by the gifts of God with contempt; so it is a still greater impiety to ascribe to man what peculiarly belongs to Him. Hence Philosophy is a noble gift of God; and all the learned men, who have existed in every age, have been raised up by God for the purpose of enlightening the world by the knowledge of truth.

But there is an immense distinction between the writings of learned men, and that teaching which God has stamped with the character of His own Majesty,[f] that it may be regarded with awe by the human race. You will find that, there, you sip only a minute particle of truth, by the taste of which you can only know how charming and sweet it is; here, a full supply flows to you, for the complete refreshment of your mind:—there, a shadow and image is submitted to your eyes, which only engages your affection, but does not bring you into intimacy with it; here, a substantial body is placed before you, with which you may not only become familiarly acquainted, but which you may in some measure handle:—there, you have a seed, almost smothered, as it were; in the other, a fruit, and that in its maturity:—there, only a few little sparks shine forth, which shew the way only so

[e] There is no other guide to a date, than that it occurs between letters written in 1549.

[f] "Suo Numini dedicavit."

far as to fail in the middle of the course; or rather, which cannot shew the way, but merely keep you from wandering more widely; but here, the Spirit of God, like a brilliant torch, or rather like the sun itself, blazes in full splendour, both to regulate the course of your life to the very goal, and to introduce you to a blessed immortality.

Hence collect—where you ought to make excursions,—and where to settle down as in a fixed habitation.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

XXXVI.

MARTYR TO THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.

About March, 1550.[g]

[Printed book[h] in 16mo., of 20 leaves, not paged, but having the Signatures A to C IV., black letter. There is a copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford: also, in the Brit. Mus., Grenville Library, 5919.]

Translation,[i] *by T. Norton.*

You may peradventure think it a strange and marvellous thing, most excellent Duke, that I am so bold as now to begin to write

[g] The Articles against the Duke were signed and acknowledged by himself, 20th December, 3 Ed. 6, (1549) and he was stripped of his office of Protector. In Feb., 1550, he was enlarged on the payment of a fine. This letter was probably written soon after.

[h] The title is as follows: "An Epistle vnto the right honorable and christian Prince, the Duke of Somerset, written unto him in Latin anone after his deliveraunce out of troubles by the famous clearke Doctour Peter Martyr, and translated into Englyshe by Thomas Norton. Anno a verbo incarnato. M.D.L. Regni Edwardi sexti. iii." "When I was in trouble, I called vpō the lord, & he hard my voice. Psal. 120. Joh. 2. 8."—The Colophon is: "Imprynted at Londō for Gualter Lynne dwellynge on Somers kaye, by Byllynges gate. In the yeare of our Lorde M.D.L. And they be to be solde in Paules churche yarde, nexte the great Schole, at the sygne of the sprede Egle. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum."

[i] "This Translation said to be by T. Norton is of great rarity." MS. note in the fly leaf, probably by Mr. T. Grenville. The original Latin is not known to be extant.

unto you. It had been my duty to have done it rather before, when the tempest had almost drowned you, and we (which began to rejoice for the enterprised, but not fully ended, restoring of religion) were in manner overcome with sorrow and great heaviness. And peradventure it would not have displeased you, if I or any such as I should have written unto you. For where temptation doth abound, there a friendly and Christian comforting being used goeth not without his effect. But I and other of my profession, in that perilous time, were little less troubled than you. Yea, I dare say for you, that you yourself were of better chear in the midst of the water, than we that stood upon the shore and beheld your wreck. Wherefore I thought it meetest to spend that time in weeping and in prayers, for to obtain both preservation for you which have done so much good in religion, and also a sure stay for the Church, for as much as it was already shaken. And now that you may have a testimony of the joy which I have received by your deliverance, and of my sorrow past, I thought it best not to let go this occasion, but by this my Epistle, such as it is, with such reverence as is meet, with such modesty as becometh, both rejoice of your happy luck, and comfort you touching those things which have of late days happened unto you, not without the ordinance of Almighty God. For them that have been once vexed with grievous miseries the remnants of mischiefs are wont often to grieve, and make them not a little sorry that they were driven to suffer that, which they were as little worthy of, as they little thought that any such thing should chance. As for that which I have taken upon me, if I perform it not so well as my will is, yet I pray you to take it in good part, and at the least yet gently to accept this token of my heart towards you.

It is set forth in the history of the Holy Gospel, that the disciples were in a ship; Christ being absent, there rose a mighty storm, the wind was so sore against them, and the waves did so well [swell?] that they had no hope of saving their lives. Then Christ, which always at such times bestirreth himself to help us, when we are in manner brought even to despair, about the latter end of the night came unto them. When they saw him go upon the water they were the more afraid, because they thought that he was a spirit or fantastical thing. But when he bade

them be of good chear, Peter (which did always bear a burning love towards Christ) as soon as he heard him thus speak, said, Master, if it be Thou, bid me come unto Thee upon the water. He thought himself (if he were once in his Master's company) safer from the storm, than if he had kept himself still within the defence of the ship. When he had obtained Jesus' commandment, he made haste toward him upon the water, and as long as he looked upon Christ, and cleaved unto His word by faith, he did well enough. But when he looked but a little aside from Christ, and considered the boisterousness of the wind and raging of the waves, his faith wavered and he began to sink. Then, the so great danger did thus much profit him, that he looked up again to Christ, and cried out, Help me, O Lord, else I perish. Christ gave him his hand, whereby he plainly taught, that the danger that he was in, came not of the rage other [either?] of winds or waves, but by the weakness of his faith. For, said He, why didst thou stumble by reason of thy weak and feeble faith. While I consider this noble history, good Lord, I do gather and perceive many things in it that do fitly agree with your chance. For all men do know, that to rule a Common Weal is as it were to sail over a deep sea, which is always tossed with tempests, and always swelleth with mighty storms of wind. Herein were you, and when there was almost no hope of your preservation, Christ was with you, and suffered you not to perish, seeing that you have so advanced his religion, which others esteemed not to be true, but a spirit, a fantasy, a thing made to deceive, and never thought that your confidence in the Gospel of Christ would do you any good. But it has so helped you, that you have trodden under your feet the raging waves and mighty storm. And, sethe [since?] we are men, it was possible that your faith, (although by the help of God it be fervent,) might waver. Therefore, when you considered yourself to be almost drowned, I doubt not that you cried out, O Lord, if I have believed no lies, if thy Gospel be true which I have promoted, if thy Word hath not beguiled me, save me this hour that I perish in [*sic*]. Wherefore, He, to deliver his truth, of wholesome and sure faith, from the despite of scorners, by and by gave you his right hand to help you, and set you in safety; so that I doubt not it hath been both a great pleasure to all godly

men, and shall be greatly profitable unto you. For thus you do perceive, not only by faith but by experience, how sure a stay it is to lean unto true godliness.

And now you have no need of any other man to preach unto you, that which we read written to the Romans: "Who shall pluck us from the love that God beareth toward us? shall trouble? shall sorrow? shall persecution? shall hunger? shall nakedness? shall danger? shall the sword"? No. Yea, he addeth further, "We overcome in all these things, through Him which loveth us." Surely, Most Noble Duke, grievous things indeed have happened unto you. All things in manner were stirred up against you alone. But who overcame them in you, but Christ? Who hath calmed so great a storm raised up against you, but Christ? The wicked still looked for you to have no other chance but extremity. But who did wrestle for you against present death and destruction hanging over your head, but Christ? Beware, if you be wise, that you think no otherwise. As for all us that do embrace godliness, we do confess, with one mouth, with one accord, that Christ hath taken your part. And I doubt not that you yourself have boldly said with Paul: "If God be on our side, who is against us." This sure comfort godly men have always at hand in adversity: we are God's: we belong unto Christ: God hath taken upon Him our defence. They say, that they be mighty which fight against us. But what? are they stronger than God? We know and stedfastly believe that God is Almighty: who shall overcome Him that is Almighty? O wholesome comfort! O sure tower of Christian faith! O faith, builded not upon sand but upon a most strong rock! Pompey, in his desperate state, could not so comfort himself; nor Cicero, in his banishment, on the last hour of his miserable destruction, could strengthen his courage, being weakened on every side, with any such comfort. I could rehearse Brutus, Cato, and many other noble men after the judgment of the world, which, while they were in state other [either] prosperous or tolerable, seemed both wise and valiant men: but, when they saw themselves brought to the extremity that there was no remedy or help, we read that they other [either] cried out, Oh, never was I wise; or blamed both God and men, and, knowing not what to do, now laid the fault on destiny, now upon fortune, now upon

falschood of men. Sometimes, desperately, they would accuse and lay the fault upon their own blind counsels. And many times, which they had in readiness, they would comfort themselves in the abominable and mischievous remedy to kill themselves. But we, if we purely agree unto the Gospel, do undoubtedly believe that God our Father, and Christ, is Almighty. Him we have put in trust to defend our cause. Therefore so we do reason with ourselves, when we are in any great danger. They that come against us must prepare themselves to fight not against men but against God, whom he that striveth against hurteth not Him, but maketh himself only miserable. Therefore God said from heaven to Saul, the most earnest persecutor of Christians, "It is hard for thee to kick against the prick;" for the prick is not hurt thereby, but it woundeth the heels that do strike at it. Wherefore, we must not despair; we must not disquiet ourself with too much care; we must not go to it with crying, with weeping, with stirring up of troublesome seditions; we must rest under the shadow of God's wings. Christ shall care for us. We are covered with the shield of God's mercy. Nothing can happen unto us, but it maketh for our profit and the glory of God.

Hereby am I persuaded to believe that you did comfort yourself in the midst of your trouble, which I know the flesh is wont to wrestle against, and bringeth forth these reasons.—"These comforts, indeed, that you speak of are somewhat worth. But tell me not that in these grievous troubles Christian men do suffer nothing. I perceive, I see by experience, that they take not away our sorrow; our vexations, wherewith we are almost oppressed, are no less grievous; our pains wherewith we are sore punished are nothing eased by these comforts. While they are spoken, indeed, they encourage our heart; but that doth profit nothing but to fall again, and is more hurt by the new fall than if it had been in one state still. For, when a man hath taken a good heart unto him, if deliverance do not straightway follow, a greater heat of mischiefs without remedy assaileth afresh, yea, and that so hard, that it whirleth down with more headlong destruction than before."—So is the flesh wont to trouble the refreshings by the Gospel, and to bark against the heavenly comfort.

But lest the power of the flesh make us lose so great fruit, we

must consider the plenteous and full light of Christian doctrine; lest, while we be so earnestly moved with those things which the flesh putteth in our head, we take the less heed to those things which we ought to love. What can happen more happy to a Christian man, than both to be, and be accounted, the scholar of Christ? What more lucky thing can he desire, than to reign for ever with his Master? What more to be wished for, than to obtain everlasting life with great glory. But these things are not obtained but by the Cross. The sons of Zebedee, moved by a certain greediness of honour, set their mother to require that they should sit next to Christ in His kingdom as head and chief; to whom He answered, "Can ye drink of the cup that I shall drink; can ye be washed with the Baptism wherewith I shall be washed?" By which words he plainly declared that all they that will reign for ever, must drink of the cup of adversity; and as many as are true suitors for the heavenly kingdom, must be washed for the Baptism of persecution. Finally, without circumstances, our Master whom we profess, Jesus Christ, hath taught that none shall be His disciple, which will not willingly take upon him His Cross; whereupon let him see that he nail both himself, his flesh, and the lusts thereof.

For the which cause, also, St. Paul, writing to the Romans, doth diligently instruct the congregation, saying, "If we suffer with Him we shall be glorified with Him;" and he added a comfort, saying, that he "doth not esteem the troubles of this world to be like the glory which shall be declared in us." And to Timothy he saith, that he "bringeth a sure and approved saying, that if we die together with Christ we shall live together with Him, and if we suffer together with Him we shall reign with Him." And unto the same man, in the first Epistle, he saith, that "all they that intend to live godly in Christ Jesu must suffer persecution." And it is no otherwise meet. For it is no reason that we should enter into the inheritance and kingdom another way than Christ Himself entered into it. He obtained the kingdom by obedience, glory by shame, freedom from death by Cross and death. Further, it is meet that the means and the end should have a convenient likelihood. Seeing, therefore, we be called thereunto of God our Father (which we must consider with ourselves now and then) to be changed into the image

and likeness of His Son our Lord Jesus Christ; that even so as He, triumphing after he had overcome death, and other temptations of this life, entered into everlasting life; so it may at length be in us which are accounted His members, as we see hath been done already in our Head. Therefore it is meet that they, which intend to obtain the same kind of reward, should practise the same kind of masteries and labours. The which thing the Apostle of Christ gave us warning of when he said, "Those whom He hath foreknown, He hath appointed before to be like the image of His Son." Whereby it appeareth how excellent the state of the chosen is. These things did God of His own free will give us before we were, when we looked for no such things; He gave us greater things than we durst ask, and more than we would have hoped for. St. Paul addeth further, and saith, "Whom He hath appointed before, them He hath called; whom He called, them He hath made righteous; whom He hath made righteous, them He hath also made glorious." These so many and so great gifts our most gentle Father hath appointed and given us, not that we should give place to the froward counsels of our flesh which other [either] refuseth the Cross, or will not suffer itself but softly and pleasantly to be nailed unto it. And how fond a thing it is to turn the Cross to a couch, and the sorrowful gallows to a soft feather-bed. Such things, I say, were not given us that we should be affrayed by adversity, misfortune, or misery, and leave the steps of Christ to follow our senses or the judgment of reason. But when we have considered that all these things are given us so liberally of the bountifulness of God, above the desert, above the worthiness, above the strength of our nature, that we be not unthankful, unmindful, foolish, as they are which by following the flesh and commodities thereof, to avoid adversities and sorrows, that are but short and continue for a time, do cruelly rob themselves of eternal life, and do wickedly forsake the ways of godliness. Even as Job answered his wife, when (instead of the comfort which she should have given her afflicted husband) she cast his pure godliness in his teeth; even so ought we to answer our flesh when it beginneth to be so bold as rail and babble against the heavenly comforts. "Why," said Job, "hast thou spoken as one of the foolish women? Seeing we have received good things of the Lord, why should we not

receive the evil also?" O marvellous and incredible steadfastness of the man of God! How circumspectly, how wisely, how godly he answered here! There can nothing be imagined more foolish than the flesh, specially when it babbleth against the Word of God! It seeth nothing, it regardeth things present only, it never understandeth that which the Apostle preached; "we rejoice in trouble, knowing that trouble engendereth sufferance, sufferance engendereth proof, proof engendereth hope." So the Spirit of God poureth out itself, that out of the storms of miseries He may bring forth strength whereby we may be able to abide them; and out of this sufferance he bringeth forth the tried knowledge of ourselves. Whereby we easily perceive, how frail we are of ourselves, and how strong we are by the help of Christ. By the which knowledge when we have so proved what is ours and what is God's, we conceive in our minds a great boldness of the help of God; for we doubt not that God which hath once laid His hand under us when we were ready to fall, will do the same when other like or harder danger shall assail us. For, by the benefit which we receive, the love of God towards us is so far from being unknown that it poureth itself into every corner of our hearts. Wherefore there is no longer any excuse left for us to doubt thereof, whereby in us also is stirred up a love toward God, to set more by Him, His will and commandments than all our other commodities, profits, desires, and purposes.

Behold, these be the grievous damages, these be the losses, these be the hindrances, these be the evils that godly men gather of adversity. Surely, seeing so plentiful fruits, and large profits come to the chosen thereby, the wise foreseeing gentleness of our Almighty Father did not ill provide for us, which hath opened us the way to heaven through crosses and troubles. For we are led unto this by the degrees aforesaid, chiefly to trust to our Creator, and [? with] all our affections most fervently to lean upon Him alone. Therefore, unless we [be] too foolish, as soon as we have escaped afflictions and trouble, we must give our hearty thanks to the mercy of God: for in them the power of God doth appear more than in any other thing.

This one thing indeed doth often grieve the chosen of God in afflictions, that they see the ungodly, and them that have utterly put away all care of godliness, to live in quiet, to possess their

goods, commodities, and honours, unto their lives' ends, while they are shaken with most mighty temptations, with sundry and manifold engines of the devil; but they do not consider that the devil is gentle enough to them that trouble him not; that, while he seemeth in manner to flatter his, lest they should forsake him, by this train he may entice many more unto him. A snake hurteth no man that toucheth him not. But if thou press him never so little, straightway he riseth up against thee with fearful hissing and armed with poison. A scorpion seemeth very gentle, and as though he would embrace a man; but touch him never so little and he will turn his dangerous sting in his tail against thee. You, right excellent Lord, have sore hurt the devil, which is both a snake and a scorpion, and ruler of the darkness of this world, wherefore what marvel you if he labour to destroy you. Surely, if I might see it otherwise chance, I would much muse and be dismayed at the contrary fashion of things. He sore suspecteth that he shall not be able to fray the people of Christ from the Gospel, unless he rage against you by whom superstition is marvellously broken, by whom the light of godliness hath generally shined upon this Realm. But comfort yourself, and be strong. His power hath an end; he cannot pass his bounds.

But beware of this one thing; that you neither consider nor remember too oft your old state wherein you were before your fall: for as oft as any such thought cometh in your mind, the flesh complaineth again that much goodness is taken away, without which it judgeth escaping with life not to be sweet; and murmureth that it were better to have died at once than to have recovered a life so brought out of fashion. But we must not suffer our mind so to be moved with them, but that it may put away the mist when it will, and see that, with taking away of great authorities, heaps of honours, and chief ordering of matters, great cares are also cut away. You may not learn of me how busy and how painful a thing it is to rule a Common Weal with counsel and good provision: for that you yourself have been sufficiently taught by experience to know. Now at length, as I think, you may have more leisure to study godliness, and knowledge of things belonging to God. Wherefore, I would have you thus to think, that you must needs have ransomed this quietness and peaceable life, with some loss of those

goods, which, (I dare say for you,) you never greatly passed [pressed] for, although the common people do singularly esteem and specially regard them. Paul doth very wholesomely instruct us concerning this matter, writing unto the Romans: "Ransoming the time, because the days are evil." These words are few and shortly spoken, and that they may be fully and perfectly understanded, they must thus be expounded. In the nature of the days, if they be considered alone and by themselves, there is no evil, seeing they run divided by a pleasant diversity, and carry and recarry into the world darkness and light,—the one to follow the other in most godly order. But the Apostle calleth them evil, because that, in their time, two great evils chance unto men: I mean, misery and sin. How miserable a life we lead in this world, this plainly proveth, that no part thereof is without misery. When are we not either troubled or tempted with the needs of nature? In what part of our age is not our life laid in wait for; either of diseases, of outward chances, or naughty men for to destroy us? How innumerable are the dangers which do besiege us on every side! Grant that all things be now and then quiet, who is out of the danger of false brethren? Finally, who is he that professeth Christ, and is not grieved, troubled, and miserably vexed in his mind, either with his own sins, or other men's? All these things, without doubt, do heap up the misery of our days. Sin, also, groweth, increaseth, and goeth forward, more and more, the longer that we live, unless it be resisted with great heed and diligence. For our nature is so infected and corrupted with our natural disease, which they call original sin, that we carry about us, even within ourselves, the beginning and fountain of all sins; which, if a man do diligently mark, he shall perceive that the Apostle hath truly written that "goodness dwelleth not in our flesh." Out of this natural corruption proceed always froward intents, violent fumes, and appetites in manner unable to be vanquished, that strive against the law of God, which, alas! oftentimes (such is our weakness) our will (which should stoutly keep them under) unhappily obeyeth unto. Yea, (and the more pity is,) it is so established in them by custom and use, that every day it waxeth harder to heal than other. Therefore, seeing our days are so evil, both by reason of misery and also of sin, by abundant wealth, great authority, high honour, men become never the

better, but wax the prouder thereby. He that ruleth a Common Weal, though he have his dignity, yet oftentimes lacketh he good health. For, of continual cares and troubles of the mind, breed evil humours in the body, whereupon cometh plenty of diseases. As for outward perils and chances that come by hap, [they] run most abroad there where they find metest and largest room. Where, I pray you, do the blasts of envy, the waves of wrath, the heat of hatred and enmity, more cruelly rage than there. Many times rise up vain perils, and destruction prepareth itself an easy way to creep in by our familiars, even those whom we take to be our most faithful and surest friends. I speak nothing how grievously the mind is tormented, when wise rulers do perceive, that oftentimes, in the governance of the Common Weal, those faults which they or others do commit, cannot be redressed by their power and authority. Is there not also a great number of miseries heaped up to increase all these things which they must needs suffer that rule in the Common Weal. And although all men live miserable days, yet they most miserable of all whom the people thinketh happy.

But now let us look aside to the wretched pestilence of vices, whether you reckon those which be natural unto us, or passions that violently burst out, or evil works which are purposed and agreed unto, or naughty customs and ancient uses; and we shall soon perceive that men that be advanced to honourable estate, have less leisure to fight against them than private men have. For while all the senses of the mind are occupied about comune [public] and other men's affairs, O Lord, what darkness, how great a mist, keepeth them from seeing their own? In no state we know ourselves worse than in that, and all our labour tendeth to this end, rather to make others better, than to fashion our own affections, works, and customs of our minds, according to the law of God and heavenly doctrine. Therefore, on both sides, the state of them that rule and govern realms is unhappier than theirs which live a private and their own life. For they are loaden with the heavy burden of miseries, and abide greater occasions of vices, and they can least labour to amend themselves. Wherefore God Almighty sometimes pitieth their case, and findeth means for them to ransom the days that be so evil. But, unless we give somewhat to receive somewhat again, it is no ransoming. For, we used to call them ransomed, which,

being bound to some necessity, pay somewhat else to obtain their liberty. Then, to avoid evils we must be content to suffer some loss. Wise and thrifty men do provide to put away the less good for to obtain the greater, and take upon the lesser evil for to avoid the greater. This doth the word ransom signify in our common speech. Thus cometh it to pass, that that is rather to be rejoiced at, which blind love complaineth of in the flesh. Therefore, if it at any time lament the loss of the dignity you had before, of the ordering of the Common Weal, of the governance of the realm, and other like, let God be thanked, which hath partly given you a ransoming of the evil days. Therefore, I say, partly, because, while we are in this life, they shall never be perfectly good, but we say that they have ransomed them that for some loss have obtained to have them not so evil as they were. I have read that it is a common proverb among the people of Africa, "The Plague standeth at thy door to beg a penny of thee, give him *two* to get him away." Surely, godly men ought to spend away much riches, specially such as the ignorant people doth most esteem, for to obtain more, greater, sounder, and certain riches. We are wont to recover our health by letting of blood. Oftentimes we put away, by coursing, certain pushes or painful botches in our body, partly with cutting, partly with searing, partly with plucking away part of the member. Why should we not also be content to course the misery of our life, and more pure affection of our mind, with some loss? It is like to happen that they which do not here ransom the evil days with putting away the commodities of this life, and pleasures of the body, at the last Day of Judgment they shall have them worse, and that not for a short time but for ever. And the wretches shall abye [*sic*] their foolishness, that caused them to set more by the less good than the greater. This we ought surely to believe, that God our Father doth order all these things. And, if we that be evil can give good things unto our children, how much more shall our heavenly Father provide well for His children? He taketh away sometimes earthly riches and heavenly glory, that we may learn the frailty thereof. Are we so foolish, that, although we do see hard stones broken in process of time, and buildings, settled and strongly joined with lime, iron, and lead, at length to decay, yet we think

that good fortune and prosperity of this world will abide for ever? With which error we being led sometimes far from the truth, do set more by these goods, which brute beasts have as well as we, and evil men as well as the good, than those which the Lord of His goodness hath appointed for His chosen, both in this life and in the world to come.

And yet I do not write this unto your Grace, most excellent Duke, as though you had not these remedies, and far better than these, in store. For I do well know what knowledge and wisdom the Spirit of Christ hath given you, but that you should take some pleasure in reading these, considering that through the selfsame Spirit of Christ, concerning the selfsame things, all they that savour of Christ agree in one selfsame tale, and thereby you may be the more encouraged to use them.

I wish your Grace in the Lord well to fare, and offer unto you (as I am no less bound both by your love and benefits) myself and my service ready at all assayes.

Your Grace's most humble

PETER MARTYR.

XXXVII.

MARTYR TO BUCER.

OXFORD, *March* 31, 1550.

[Latin Holograph, MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, f. 119.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

WHEN I heard of your again being in ill health, I greatly regretted that I had urged you so strongly to reply to my letter; for illness is so burdensome in itself, that it scarcely permits us to converse or to think on necessary business, much less does it easily admit importunate interruptions. But, in truth, I had heard from several persons that you were convalescent; wherefore, I

both congratulated you on your restoration to health, and also was desirous of enjoying mutual converse at least by letters. But now, since you tell me that you are again afflicted, I and all mine are very much grieved; and we earnestly pray our good and supreme God[k] that He would quickly restore you in renewed health to His Church, of which I do not despair, since, being now in the spring, your feeble body (*corpusculum*) is no longer in danger of being affected by excessive cold. I fear that, during the last half-year, by speaking, writing, presiding at disputations, and preaching, you have too much exhausted your strength, which you must recollect is not the same as it was some years ago.[l] If, as I hope, you are convalescent, I entreat you to take better care of yourself in future: for it is often needful to do less in order that we may do more.

I thank you for the answers you have returned to my questions; they please me much: I am only grieved that, at that time, I imposed on you the burden of writing. Gratified as I am to have received this communication from you, you will not think it troublesome to write to me again, according to your promise, should anything further occur to you; provided, indeed, God should quickly restore you, as I pray may be His will, to your former state of health. In truth, I did not put those questions to you hastily: for some of our adversaries think that we are in the greatest possible error, while we inculcate such doctrine; and they are confident that, should a public disputation on these matters take place, I should so hesitate as to be totally unable to answer their arguments. But I hope that God would stand by His truth, as He has ever done to the present moment.

In the late disputations, they argued on the different degrees of reward for the blessed; and this they did with no other view than to prop up [their doctrine of] *Merits:* when I perceived this, I so opposed myself to it, by the help of God, that they by no means gained their point. When we brought them to discuss the Scriptures, these Sophists had nothing to bring forward except a "substantial" and "accidental" reward.

But I refrain from wearying you longer. May God quickly

[k] "Deum Optimum Maximum."

[l] Bucer was now in his sixtieth year.

restore you. My wife and Julius join in this prayer, and we all wish health to your wife, to Isaac,[m] and to your whole family.

Oxford, March 31, 1550.

Yours *ex animo*,

PETER MARTYR.

To the very distinguished man, Master Doctor Martin Bucer, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, much respected by me.—At Cambridge.

"*Received April 7, answered May* 11."

XXXVIII.

BUCER TO THEOBALD NIGER.

CAMBRIDGE, *April* 15, 1550.

[Printed in Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, p. 862, fol., Basil., 1577.]

† *Translation now first published.*

DR. PETER MARTYR'S Disputation[n] was planned, and his propositions communicated, before I came into England.[o] I could have wished a modified[p] Proposition, composed in words altogether different, and those [the words] of Scripture. I am well assured, however, that he by no means wished that the Supper of the Lord should be [viewed as] a mere administration of Bread and Wine; he acknowledges the presence and exhibition of Christ; but, since the Zurich people have here many and great followers, this excellent man was drawn,[q] I hardly know how, to consent to use the word, "Signification," although he added, "efficacious," by which he understands the exhibition of Christ, as he himself explains it in the Preface to his Disputations; in which [Preface],

[m] So, apparently.

[n] See note, p. 80, note ([t]).

[o] Bucer reached Lambeth from Strasburgh April 25, 1549.

[p] "Mediam."

[q] "Abstractus."

by my advice, he added many observations to his own, and withdrew some (—the Disputations were already published—); for he is most desirous of a pious concord.

Those who had hitherto listened to my explanation of this Mystery, especially those who care for the kingdom of Christ, approved it.

Up to this time nothing further is established in this kingdom concerning that controversy, than that Transubstantiation is not to be affirmed. In the Public Prayers, however, at the Lord's Supper, a true exhibition of the Body and Blood of Christ is expressed in words exceedingly clear and weighty (*solidis*).[r]

In truth, I know in whom I have believed; and I have made my Confession both in writing and in words wherever it was my duty to do so; in that [course] the Lord will preserve me.

You know the piety and erudition of that excellent man; therefore, as far as you have any influence over those who have taken offence at his Disputations, reconcile them by the Preface to those Disputations. When we cannot obtain all that we wish, it is our duty, as far as lies in our power, to bend to the glory of God those things which are given us, especially when they come from men so pious and learned.

Take in good part these suggestions, which I have dictated because I am unable to write. May you and all yours fare well: salute my friends. Cambridge, April 15, 1550.

MARTIN BUCER.

To Theobald Niger, my fellow-minister and beloved brother.

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[r] The words in Edward VI.'s first Liturgy, 1549, which Bucer so highly approved, were:—"With thy Holy Spirit and word, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts, and creatures of Bread and Wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ." In the second Liturgy, 1552, they were expunged, and the following substituted:—"Grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of Bread and Wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed Body and Blood."

XXXIX.

BUCER TO THE CHAPTER OF ST. THOMAS, STRASBURGH.

CAMBRIDGE, *May* 12, 1550.

[From the Original in the Marbach Library at Strasburgh, printed by Fecht in his Epistolæ Theologicæ, P. II., p. 20, at the end of his Hist. Ecclesiast., Sæc. XVI., Supplementum, 4to., Francofurti, 1648.]

† *Translation now first published.*

GRACE and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ.—Venerable and most dear Colleagues,—Last year I made an appeal[u] to your charities, to grant me a year's leave of absence from the College, with the enjoyment of those profits which are usually conceded to non-residents. You kindly and benignantly bestowed on me not only this [favour], but many others which I neither could nor ought to ask: for which benefits I wrote you a letter of thanks, which I hope was delivered to you.

Excellent men: my office of reading lectures in Divinity in this place, has, through the blessing of God, not been unprofitable; and I am laid under an obligation to fulfil it with the utmost fidelity, by the very great liberality both of the King's Majesty, and also of some other noble and pious men. But, from the month of August in last year, the Lord began to instruct me by severe diseases, from which I am not entirely free at this moment, although He has greatly mitigated them again during the last month; as He had done from the 1st of January till March, at which time those disorders returned almost more violently than they had raged at first. The consequence has been, that I was unable to discharge the duties of my office for much longer than three months. Now, since the authorities here are of opinion that my labour in this island will conduce not a little to the restoration of the kingdom of Christ, I cannot refrain from bestowing it diligently in the Churches here, for one year from the present time; especially since the affairs of our Church abroad are in such a condition, that very little benefit

[u] This letter is not preserved.

could be expected from my efforts at this time. For these reasons, I throw myself upon your charity, in the petition that you will grant me still one more year, for ministering to Christ the Lord and to his Church in this place. For I feel assured that nothing will be wanting which relates to the Decanal function, its duties being discharged by that excellent man, and my distinguished[v] fellow-father, Master Peter Dasypodius, who I hope will continue to sustain the office as my substitute, in compliance with the wishes of both you and of myself, for one year longer. Thus, also, there will accrue a greater accession to the property of the Deanery, which will be of advantage to my successors. I desire that you all, together with ours, may prosper well and continuously; and that you may contribute to the cause of the kingdom of Christ, firmly and successfully.

Cambridge, May 12, 1550.

Yours, devotedly,

MART. BUCER, DEAN.

XL.

BUCER TO DR. ECHT OF COLOGNE.

CAMBRIDGE, *May* 13, 1550.

[Cotemporary copy, MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, f. 279.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.—Extracts.*[w]

[BUCER's attack commenced in August, 1549. After describing minutely his painful ailments, he says, that in November of that year he was somewhat better; he had been in London, and the journey on his return to Cambridge refreshed him for a little time, but his complaint soon returned.—He continues—]

[v] "Compatre."

[w] The greater part of this letter is unsuitable for publication; being a detailed account of Bucer's illness, in a communication to his medical adviser; whose reply is preserved in the same MS. volume, f. 297.

"About Christmas, the Lord looked upon me, and refreshed my feeble body (*corpusculum*), so that I began to read Divinity at my house to a few pious men. Very soon after the 1st of January, [1550,] I even commenced my public lectures in Divinity, presided at disputations [in the Schools], and preached in Latin. In this improved state I continued till the middle of March."

[His illness then returned. Early in May he was convalescent. On the 13th of that month, he writes:—]

"I have returned, by the blessing of God, to my office of public lecturing, presiding at disputations, and preaching in Latin; and that, with great mental alacrity, which seems to bring some accession of strength to my body: for, while I am unable to discharge any of the duties of my ministry, an incredible melancholy and dejection of mind comes over me, which lowers not a little my bodily strength."

[On asking Dr. Echt's advice as to the use of mineral waters, he gives the following curious information as to the small attention paid to such remedies in England in the time of Edward VI.:—]

"In this island there are two hot-springs (*thermæ*); one sulphureous; the other derives its warmth from metals, but of what character, no one, as yet, has been able to give me any information. I hear that both have been altogether neglected by the English; and that no one has used them, except the common people who live in the immediate neighbourhood. But it is late for me, in my sixtieth year, to take measures for the preservation of my health. The Lord, in his great mercy, has prolonged my life for fifty-nine years, without my having been ever visited with any severe illness. For such a benefit conferred on me by the Divine compassion, I ought to be grateful; and even at length to feel in some little degree what my sins have deserved."

MARTIN BUCER.

XLI.

MELANCTHON TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

WITTENBERG? *May* 28, 1550.

[Printed in Melancthoni Epistolæ, Lib. iii., Ep. 41, col. 521, edit. Londini, fol. 1642. Latin.]

† *Translation now first published entire.*[x]

MOST REVEREND SIR,—Your letter and the books you sent me were delivered to me, this month of May, by a German youth who is returning from England to his country. I have read the disputation,[y] and I am grieved that those who seek for ancient testimonies, will not acknowledge how clear they are: nevertheless, there is no doubt what was the opinion of the soundest [divines] in the ancient Church. But mark[z] the impostures! New and spurious sentiments have been patched into many books. It is indisputable that this has happened to Theophylact: for that [passage] which Œcolampadius[a] translated from the MS. he possessed, (although, indeed, he did not approve the matter, still he translated it,) was altogether wanting in our MS. The same thing happened to the books of Bede; of which, I believe, a purer text is to be found in your country.

I send you a portion of the "Exposition of the Nicene Creed;"

[x] Strype gives the greater part of this letter. (Cranmer, I., 583.)

[y] "Certamen." Probably the Disputation at Oxford, by Peter Martyr.

[z] "Audi."

[a] Œcolampadius was born in Franconia, 1482; studied at Heidelberg; and in 1520 entered a monastery: but on reading Luther's works, quitted his cell, and was made Professor of Divinity at Basle. He died of the plague, 1531. He embraced the doctrines of Zuingle, but with moderation. His works were prohibited by Henry VIII., 1529, (Foxe, iv., 668, 684), and by Mary, 1555 (vii., 127).

I send it to you, to à Lasco, to Bucer, to Peter Martyr, and to other learned and candid men, as my critics.

Farewell. May 28, 1550.

[PHILIP MELANCTHON.]

To the Most Reverend, Thomas,
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

XLII.

MARTIN FABER[z] TO BUCER.

LONDON, *June* 9, [1550].

[Latin Autograph, MSS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, f. 255.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

THE peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you always. Long and disagreeable has been the delay, respected Father, of the arrival of the ship, which we have been expecting for eight days, but which was unable to sail before Whitsuntide. On Whitsunday, however, several vessels got under weigh together, which were unwilling to sail without company, on account of the Scotch privateers. I wish we had been able to enjoy your society yonder;[a] for then the delay would have appeared less tedious.

At length I reached the Archbishop's palace, where I remained,

[z] Martin Faber is thus mentioned by Bucer, in a letter to Hardenberg, dated London, August 14, 1549:—"The Lord has much people in this country. There are from six to eight hundred Germans, all godly men, and most anxious for the Word of God. They requested me and my friend Fagius to provide for them some faithful preacher in the language of Brabant, to which country they most of them belong. We have, indeed, at home, Martin Faber, a most approved brother, as you know, and with a very small, and, as things now are, uncertain income. I had thought of inviting him over; but his voice is so weak, that I dare not hope he would be able to suit this situation." (Original Letters, edit. Parker Society, 1847, p. 539.)

[a] "Istic." Cambridge?

on account of my acquaintances Master Alexander[b] and Master à Lasco. When the Most Reverend had seen me there, had inquired about your health, and had conversed with me on various matters, he gave me at parting eight crowns for my expenses.[c] May Christ reward him for that liberality to the studious!

I had, also, a conference with Master à Lasco. I cannot refrain from giving you a short account of our conversation, which was ingenuous, free, and modest. The following incident gave rise to it. When I was in his bed-chamber, I chanced to take up a certain Writing which contained a Disputation between Calvin and Bullinger on the effect and use of the Sacraments. À Lasco had begun to annex his own judgment and sentiments to this their Disputation. Among[d] these notes, I observed the following Proposition:—"that nothing is given to or conferred on any one by Sacraments; but that they are only Symbols of the Thing previously given and received, for that God has from eternity elected His own by His covenant, 'I am thy God'; that He afterwards confirms them, by the symbols of Baptism and of the Holy Supper, to be His own, and to have been previously His own." Nor does he admit the usual distinction of causes, as efficient, principal, and instrumental or mediate; nor does he allow that the Word of God, or His Sacraments, are media or organs of working by the efficacy of God.

Upon this, I and Alexander wished him to consider particularly,—

1stly. That he was branding, with the mark of misapplication[e] and impropriety, the usual and constant phraseology of Scripture:—'The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation.'—

[b] Peter Alexander of Arles, was encouraged by Cranmer to come into England in 1547, in whose family he was entertained. Hooper says he was at Lambeth, with Bucer, and Fagius, June 25, 1549. A letter from him to Fagius, dated Lambeth, March 24, 1549, is printed in the Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 329; and one of the same date to Bucer, in Buceri Scripta Anglicana, p. 191. He had a Prebendal Stall at Canterbury, 14th April, 1551; was deposed in 1553, and restored in May, 1560. He had also the living of All Hallows, Lombard-street. On the 14th June, 1563, Jewel writes,—"Peter Alexander is in London, laid up with the gout, a good man, but somewhat weakened by age."

[c] "Viaticum." [d] "Hic." [e] "Catachreseōs."

'I have begotten you.'—'Born again, by the Word, of immortal seed.'—'That I may save many.'—'The Law of the Lord, converting the soul.'—Also: 'Arise, and wash away thy sins.'—'The washing of Regeneration, &c.'

2ndly. That he was elevating the magnitude of original sin, by being silent as to how and when it is taken away.

At length we separated, in a friendly and peaceful way. I said, that I and all the pious ought to love to follow the accustomed mode by which the Holy Spirit speaks, and to avoid labyrinths concerning Predestination; holding the truth in that manner in which God has revealed Himself to us by the eternal Word.

I have been desirous of communicating this matter to you in a few words, my Father, in order that, according to your prudence and readiness, the minds [of others] may be instructed, admonished, and fore-armed, against all such fanatical opinions as may be produced by these statements. I wish that your work, begun at Strasburgh, on the external and verbal[f] ministry, were completed and published. I wish to detract nothing from that good and pious man, à Lasco, although I do not receive, or approve his opinion; nor was I instructed in that doctrine, either in the Church of Wittenberg or in yours, the judgments of which I acknowledge to be correct. I am now going direct to Saxony, where God has assigned me a post; after a few years I shall not be sorry again to salute you. May Christ the Lord confirm your health, and long preserve you for the edification of many. London, on the day of Pentecost. Your devoted

MARTIN FABER.

To D. Martin Bucer, a man celebrated both for his piety and great learning, his father and respected preceptor, Cambridge.

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[f] "De Ministerio externo et vocali."

XLIII.

MARTYR TO BUCER.

OXFORD, *June* 10, 1550.

[Latin Holograph, MSS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, f. 107.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

A FEW days since, an Oxonian returned here, who brought me your letter dated June 2, which gave me very great pleasure; for you tell me that you are in good health, intelligence particularly gratifying to me, as it has been a matter of my earnest desire. Nor was I less refreshed by your saying, that you have an intention of coming to us during the approaching Vacation,[g] provided I am not at that time called away from this place by the Archbishop. Indeed, I greatly approve your design; for since your wife (as you write) has already gone into Germany, you will be able to remain with us some time; and this will not only be very gratifying to us, but will also, I think, be very useful to yourself; for your spirits will be recruited by our mutual converse, and your health will derive some benefit from our air and climate. It is generally agreed that we are more healthily situated here at Oxford, than you are at Cambridge. I do not think I shall be called away from this place.

As regards the affairs both of the University and of . . . .[h] they are here no better than among you; or rather, worse. For

[g] Strype says that Bucer paid this visit to Martyr at Oxford, July 22nd following, in company with Bradford and others. (Strype, Memor. II., i. 383.) There must be some little mistake in the date; for Bucer's visit lasted "eleven days," as he himself states (Scripta Anglicana, p. 805), and he was present at Young's lecture at Trinity College, Cambridge, on the 30th July. He must, therefore, have gone to Oxford about July 16th. He also visited the Duke of Suffolk at the same time; and he says he "was much refreshed in body and mind." (MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 113, p. 103, copy of a letter from Bucer to a friend.)

[h] The MS. having been torn by the seal, a few letters are deficient: "Quod ad res et Schol . . et p . . atis."

among you, I hear, there are several Heads[i] of Colleges who favour religion; while we are miserably destitute of that advantage. Nor are the statutes[k] of the Visitors observed here with greater respect than they are kept by your people. In short, the minds of the Seniors are every day more and more hardened [in error]; while the Juniors, of whom there might have been some hope, are called off, by a thousand artifices, to prevent them from having an opportunity of hearing [the truth]. What then can be done? Indeed I know nothing else, than to commit the matter to God, for it is entirely His.

I have nothing new to tell you. A certain adversary of mine, Dr. Smith,[l] who preceded me as Professor of Divinity at Oxford,

[i] "Præfecti."—The following Heads of Colleges in Cambridge, in 1550, were favourable to the Reformation: Nicholas Ridley, Master of Pembroke; Walter Haddon, Master of Trinity Hall; Matthew Parker, Master of Corpus Christi; John Cheke, Provost of King's; William Mey, President of Queen's; Edwyn Sandys, Master of Catharine Hall; William Bill, Master of St. John's; and (perhaps) John Redman, Master of Trinity, though he was at this time opposed to some of Bucer's doctrines. Pilkington, also, was Vice-Master of St. John's; and Grindal was Vice-Master of Pembroke.

[k] "Leges."

[l] Dr. Richard Smith was Master of Whittington College and Reader in Divinity at Oxford. In 1547, May 15, Cranmer persuaded him to recant his Popish errors at Paul's Cross. In 1549, however, he violently opposed the Archbishop on the marriage of Priests. In the same year, 1549, he was to have publicly disputed with Martyr; but he left the disputation to others, and fled into Scotland, and afterwards to Louvain, and Paris, to escape the consequences of his turbulence. In a letter of his to Cranmer, Feb. 14, 1550, from St. Andrew's, he offered to write "De Sacerdotum Connubiis," as "a just satisfaction for any thing I have written against the same," if the Archbishop would obtain for him the King's pardon! Under Mary he conformed to Popery; and distinguished himself in the proceedings against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. In April, 1554, he was set to dispute at Oxford against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer. On the 24th August, 1559, when preparing to flee again into Scotland, the Council desired Archbishop Parker and Bishop Grindal to propose to him the oath of conformity, which he took. He was ordered to repair to Oxford, as an example to others. (See Parker's Correspondence, pp. 72—74, Parker Society, 1853.) There are two letters from him to Parker, (MSS. C. C. C., Cambridge, 119, art. 43,) on the back of the former of which the Archbishop has written, "notwithstanding this earnest promise and bond, yet this good father fled into Paris; such was his faith." Jewel, writing to Martyr, Nov. 2, 1559, says he had then "recanted for the *fifth* time. . . . . Go, now, and deny transubstantiation if you can." Original Letters, p. 61, 2nd ed., 1846. See Strype, Cranmer II. 243—245, and Parker I. 95—98, 360, and Memorials II., ii., 61—71, where a remarkable instance of his unprincipled conduct, in 1537, is given. He died at Doway, 1563.

and fled hence last year to Louvain, (—having conducted himself very turbulently here, by challenging me, with excessive petulance, to a public disputation with himself,—) has published two books:—one, *On the Celibacy of Clerks*,[m] pretendedly against

[m] "*Celeberrimi sacræ theologiæ professoris D. Richardi Smythei, in Achademia Oxoniensi sacras Literas profitentis de Cœlibatu Sacerdotum Liber vnus. Ejusdem de votis Monasticis Liber alter, nunc primum Typis excud. Lovanii apud Joannem Waen, ad intersignium Castri Angelici, Bibliop. Jurat. Anno* 1550. *Mense Februario. Cum gratia et priuilegio.*" 10½ sheets in 8vo. The license for printing is dated "*Bruxelles, Anno D.* 1550. *Mensis Januarij die* 8." The special title of the 2nd treatise is:—"*Ejusdem D. Richardi Smythei confutatio quorundam articulorum de votis Monasticis Petri Martyris Itali, Oxoniæ in Anglia Theologiam profitentis. De votis hæc incogitanter, indocte, et impie effutiuit, obnixe contendens illa nuncupare Deo nefas esse homini Christiano, saltem vt sint perpetuo necessaria.*" At the end is:—"*Visum et admissum, &c., die* 15, *Janua., Anno Domini* 1549, *stilo Braban.*" [1550] And the colophon is:—"*Excudebat Louanij Hugo Cornwels, Typogra. Jurat. Anno Domini* 1550, *mense Martio.*"—Strype (Memorials II., i. 419) gives the title of these two treatises thus, "*De Cœlibatu Sacerdotium*" and "*De Votis Monasticis;*" which, in fact, are simply the abbreviated *running* titles at the heading of the pages of each treatise. This is the *first* Edition. A *second* edition was published at Paris, with the following title:—"*Defensio sacri Episcoporū et sacerdotum Cœlibatus, contra impias et indoctas* PETRI MARTYRIS VERMELIJ *nugas, et calumnias, quas ille Oxoniæ in Anglia, duobus retro annis in sacerdotaliū nuptiarum assertionem temerè effutiuit. Per* RICARDUM SMYTHÆUM *Anglum, olim diu Oxoniæ in Anglia, nunc verò Lutetiæ Parisiorum Theologiam profitentem.*"—"*Ejusdem de votis monasticis cōtra eundem Martyrem, ac eius furfuris alios, breuis libellus—Vterque nūc denuo prodit tersius et emaculatius, non sine haud pœnitēda accessione, et locupletatione, ac succincta libelli cuiusdā* JOANNIS PONETI *Angli refutatione.—Quibus accessit index rerum, quæ maximè visæ erant annotationi dignæ. Lutetiæ Parisiorum. Ex officina Reginaldi Calderij, et Claudij eius filij.* 1550."—10 sheets in 8vo. The Dedication is, "*Integerrimo simul et eruditissimo viro Dauid Halyburtono præsidi collegij Methuennensis in Scotia,* RICARDUS SMYTHÆUS *Anglus, Doctor theologus S.;*" and is dated "*Parisijs Anno Domini* 1551, *Januari* 21." This is followed by the preface "*Ad candidum Lectorem*"—very nearly the same as in the former edition, and dated "*Parisijs. Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo, die duodecima mensis Januarij.*" At the end of the first Treatise is: "*Finis prioris libri, Februarij* 7, 1551."—Martyr did not publish his reply to these attacks of Smith, till nine years later in the following work;—"Defensio D. Petri Martyris Vermilii Florentini, divinarum literarum in schola Tigurina Professoris, ad Ricardi Smythæi Angli, olim Theologiæ Professoris Oxoniensis, duos libellos, De Cœlibatu sacerdotum et Votis Monasticis, nunc primum in lucē edita. Priori ad Corinth., cap. 4. Mihi uero minimo est, ut à uobis iudicer, aut ab humano die. Basileæ apud Petrum Pernam, M.D.LIX.," small 8vo., pp. 648.

Luther, whose character he impudently assails with abuse, in reality however against myself, often naming me reproachfully, as having inculcated the same doctrines:—the other, *On Monastic Vows*, professedly written against me, stuffed so full with maledictions, accusations, and the bitterest contempt, that I think I never have heard before of any tongue so unbridled in abuse. He does not even spare my wife, whom he most filthily traduces as my harlot. Now and then he makes mention of your Calvin, representing us all as having conspired together in [support of] the same opinions. He heaps together the opinions of the Fathers with all possible zeal; but he heaps together very many, by which he strives to prove that vows of Celibacy are both lawful and laudable, and having once been taken, are rigidly to be fulfilled. By the same authority of the Fathers he endeavours to prove that every one of us has the power of making such vows, provided we be willing, and prayers be offered up: in which particular he imitates [the Bishop of] Winchester;[o] although he does not equal him either in style or in acuteness of argument, for he adopts a very impure phraseology, and weaves silly sophisms; but he is more copious than Winchester in collecting the opinions of the Fathers. I think he was induced to select this particular subject, above all others, in writing against me (—for he had often heard me deliver opinions in the Schools directly opposed to his Papistical dogmas—) for the following reason—that he sees that, on this point, he has a sufficiently rich and copious testimony in the Fathers. Perhaps he has fully persuaded himself that he will gain this advantage—namely—that, in this question, I shall be compelled, however unwilling, openly to dissent from the Fathers; from whose field, should I leave him master of it, he will immediately sing his *Epinicia* among his comrades, and splendidly proclaim his triumph as having gloriously won the battle.[p] You have been frequently and happily conversant with this topic, both with Latomus, and with Winchester.[q] Wherefore, now I hold the wolf by the ears. If I answer, I shall seem to do what has already been done: for it would be impossible for me to bring

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forward more than has been written either by you or by others on this controversy; or to add much to what I have taught in the Schools, that fellow Smith himself being a hearer and a diligent annotator of all that was said. But if I take no notice,[r] I shall be reminded of my duty by those who are on our side; and other nations, in which his book will be generally read, will easily be imposed on. For, although his books are not dispersed in England, [having been prohibited] by the order of the Magistrates, and chiefly, as I think, of the Most Reverend [the Archbishop] of Canterbury, yet, since they have been printed at Louvain, they will be universally circulated. The writer has never appeared here, and no one knows where he is. What a pure and innocent life he leads, you may conjecture from this. He had a man-servant who took to himself a wife: he lodged with them; and, as it is generally reported, they had all things in common.[s] Such are the advocates of "*the Celibacy of Clerks and Monks.*"[t]

I hear that the Emperor is about to go into Germany. Indeed, as I am told, he would have already gone, had he not been prevented by a severe fit of the gout; in consequence of

the necessity of Celibacy imposed on Priests and Monks. Bishop Gardiner wrote two reproachful letters against Bucer's work. Bucer prepared a rejoinder; but, on intimating his purpose to Henry VIII., the King requested him to postpone the publication, which, however, was put forth in 1548, under the title, "Gratulatio ad Ecclesiam Anglicanam, edit. 1548." Bucer tells us, (in this work, p. 53,) that, about three years before Gardiner's attack, (probably in 1543,) Gardiner, who was then the King's Ambassador in Germany, met himself and Alexander Aless, the Scot, and had a violent discussion with him on this subject. "The veins in his hands, the like to which," says Bucer, "I never saw before, leapt up and trembled, whenever he heard any thing from us which gave him offence." See Strype, Memor. II., [illegible]—[illegible].

[illegible] "Sin verò dissimulavero, et ab his qui stant a nostris partibus [illegible] requiretur."—The meaning, and connection, is not quite clear.

[illegible] "Fuerunt inter eos πάντα κοινά."

Smith's profligacy was notorious. His book on Celibacy and Marriage, [illegible] in connexion with his lewd character, [illegible] wrote the following smart Epigram:—

"Haud satis [illegible]
Libros [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

which he countermanded the transport of the waggons and baggage which were already prepared for the march. Hence the report gained currency, that he would not pursue that march any further this year.

A certain person, who came here lately, named Mr. Haddon,[u] Vice-chancellor of your University, paid his salutations to me. I would wish you to salute him, for me, in return. Farewell in the Lord. My wife and Julius desire their regards. Oxford, June 10, 1550.

Yours *ex animo*,

PETER MARTYR.

To the very distinguished man, Master Doctor Martin Bucer, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, much respected by me.

"*Received June* 18."

XLIV.

À LASCO TO BUCER.

LAMBETH, *June* 25, 1550.

[Latin, Holograph, MSS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, f. 103.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

I GREATLY regret, very holy man, that I cannot even now come to you, in company with Peter Martyr; but I am well assured that you yourself would not wish me to be absent from this place, if you knew the circumstance [which detains me here]. The day after to-morrow, the cause of Master ab Heideck is to be settled, respecting which it is not my business to write more;

[u] "N[*omi*]ne Domini Addonis." The MS. is torn, and a few letters obliterated.

and also the cause of the German Church:[v] both happily, I trust. You will, therefore, excuse me for not coming at present: but next week you shall certainly have me.

We have no news, except that it is almost certain that [the Bishop of] Winchester will be set at liberty. There is great silence about him at this moment; and perhaps he will keep in his place.

On the 14th of June, Cæsar moved from Cologne towards Augsburg.[w]

In my Poland there have been such disturbances as never occurred at any former time. . . .

Let us pray God that He may be pleased to preserve His Church, and us His faithful ministers. Farewell, excellent man; expect me with certainty next week. Lambeth, the day after John the Baptist's day [June 25,] 1550.

Your pre-eminency's most attached,

JOHN À LASCO,

with my own hand.

To the most learned and faithful Minister of the Church of Christ, Master Martin Bucer, Regius Professor in the University of Cambridge, my most esteemed Master, Brother, and Friend.

[Received] "26th June, not answered."

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[v] The Church of Foreigners, or the Belgic Church, on the site of the late Austin Friars. The patent was granted July 24th of this year. John à Lasco was the first superintendent.

[w] For the Diet, in order to establish the Interim. He reached Augsburg, June 25th.

XLV.

EXTRACT FROM BUCER'S DISPUTATION ON JUSTIFICATION,

AT CAMBRIDGE, *June*, 1550.

[Buceri Scripta Anglicana, pp. 730—732, fol. Basil, 1577.]

† *Translation now first published.*

BUCER.—It is abundantly clear that the Holy Spirit, when He says by the Apostle Paul, "We are justified freely by God through Christ," intended to say that we are justified altogether without respect to our works either preceding or following Justification: for these are merely the gratuitous gifts and works of God in us.

SEDGWICK.—What is your opinion of Catechumens?

BUCER.—If they truly believe in Christ the Lord, they are justified: if not, they are not justified, neither can they deserve justification.

SEDGWICK.—Grant, either that they believe, or that they do not believe.

BUCER.—I cannot look into the hearts of any, so as to see what any one believes or does not believe; I cannot therefore give any other answer than that which I have given conditionally.

SEDGWICK.—Catechumens are not baptized, neither are they members of the Church; therefore they are not justified, and yet they do certain good works.

BUCER.—If Catechumens really believe, they have on God's testimony eternal life, and are truly already (*jam*) members of Christ and of the Church, and being truly justified they of necessity do good works. Justification is not first conferred on them by Baptism, but it is sealed, confirmed, and increased to them. It is clear, therefore, that this objection proves nothing against my Proposition, in which I deny,—That those who are not yet justified can truly do good works.

SEDGWICK.—I speak of the Catechumens of the primitive Church.

BUCER.—Speak of whomsoever you will, if they have the true faith of Christ, they are the sons of God, and have eternal life; otherwise, they shall not see life, but the wrath of God abides upon them. John iii.

SEDGWICK.—They are not washed, therefore they are not regenerated. John iii., "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

BUCER.—Ambrose consoled the sisters of the Emperor Valentinianus, [and assured them] of the undoubted felicity of their brother, on the ground that, though not baptized, he was taken hence in the pure confession of the faith and with a desire (*voto*) for Baptism. God has not tied His saving efficacy to Sacraments: we shall therefore say rightly [if we affirm] that those who contemn the Baptism of water, the laver (*lavacrum*) of regeneration, cannot enter into the kingdom of God. But with regard to those to whom it could not be applied,—and that, without their fault,—even the single [instance of the] thief saved on the cross without the laver (*lavacrum*) of water, forbids that we should consign them to hell (*Gehennæ*).

SEDGWICK.—I have read that [story] of Valentinianus; but it may be doubted what he believed.

BUCER.—We may trust history. But, if he departed in the true faith, with the desire of Baptism, it could be no hindrance to his salvation that he was not in fact baptized by the Church.

SEDGWICK.—Then we may also say that any heathen are saved, even though they be not baptized.

BUCER.—There is a paralogism here,—from *non causa ad causam.*[x] I am deciding on the salvation of no one, except of one who truly believes according to the Word of God. What an immense difference is there between the heathen, of whose faith in Christ we have no testimony, and that Prince Valentinianus so praised on account of his faith in Christ! respecting whose salvation, however, I affirm solely under this condition—*if* he believed in the Lord, as that grave Bishop in the Church of God, Ambrose, declared concerning him.

SEDGWICK.—For entrance into the Church, two things are required; to believe, and to be baptized.

BUCER.—If the second can also be obtained;—otherwise, the first may suffice.

[x] Applying what is *not* the question, *to* the question.

SEDGWICK.—Let us dismiss Valentinianus. Augustine and other Fathers think, with me, that those perish who have not been baptized.

BUCER.—Whatever the holy Fathers may have determined on this matter, we ought to listen to Christ the Son of God. He has said, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth My word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into condemnation, but shall pass from death unto life." John v. It is true, indeed, that we cannot affirm anything of the salvation of those whom we do not know either to have been baptized, or to have departed hence with the desire of Baptism and in the profession of the faith of Christ; however, it is not for us to limit the Divine mercy. God only knows whom He has elected unto life, and when and how He may choose to draw them to His Son and to graft them into His Church. So widely does the promise lie open, "I will be a God to thy seed."

SEDGWICK.—It is well known that, in the ancient Church, the Catechumens were sometimes kept from Baptism for twenty days; during the whole of which period *they were* in the desire of Baptism. Now if any of these should have been taken hence by sudden death, what is to be thought of their salvation?

BUCER.—What I have [already] said: if they truly believed in the Lord, those who thus were taken hence without Baptism, but with a sincere desire of Baptism, passed from death unto eternal life. For, it was by no fault of theirs that they were destitute of Baptism; nor did the Churches sin in deferring to give Baptism to those not sufficiently tried; as Augustine in his treatise on Faith and works rightly teaches. They catechized and examined the faith of candidates of Baptism, not for twenty days only, but often for forty and more, but, if any of them were attacked by a dangerous disease, and sought the grace of Baptism, they instantly administered it. Moreover, if any one died suddenly, and in the true faith of Christ, without Baptism, but not through his own fault, it is not to be doubted that he passed from death unto eternal life; Christ Himself pronouncing this; whose opinion I place deservedly before the opinions of all the Fathers.

XLVI.

MARTYR TO A FRIEND IN ENGLAND.

OXFORD, *July* 1, 1550.

[Printed in Petri Martyris Epistolæ Theologicæ, p. 1085, edit. Lond., 1583. at the end of the "Loci Communes."—Martyr's Divine Epistles, translated by Anthonie Marten, p. 115, col. 1, London, 1583.]

New Translation (based on Marten's).

EXCELLENT SIR,—Your letter, full of courtesy, that you wrote to me, was so welcome to me, that I greatly thank you for it. Certainly I was chiefly refreshed by the letter itself on this account, that I am thus conscious that you are mindful of me, and that I perceive this is brought to pass from no other cause than the ardent love with which you follow after godliness and the holy Scriptures. Therefore, since you love in me God, and the labour (though it be very slender) which I bestow on the Church, I congratulate you on account of your goodwill and affection; and I pray and beseech Almighty God, again and again, that he may daily increase in you more and more the endeavour after godliness and holy doctrine, with which he has hitherto adorned you.

I grieve more than can be expressed, that everywhere in England we are suffering from so great a penury of the Word of God; and, since those who are bound to feed the sheep with the doctrine of Christ act with such remissness as utterly to refuse to do their duty, I know not with what weeping or with what tears this can be sufficiently lamented. But I am confident it will come to pass, that we shall see better things: and may God grant that I fail not of this my hope. In the meantime, however, while the pastors of the Churches neglect the office that God has laid on them, do you both endeavour to strengthen yourself with the words of God, and to your ability be not wanting to your household; for if you do so you shall rule your family not only in the flesh but also in the spirit. And these things I write, not that I think you to be slothful,

Luther, whose character he impudently assails with abuse, in reality however against myself, often naming me reproachfully, as having inculcated the same doctrines: — the other, *On Monastic Vows,* professedly written against me, stuffed so full with maledictions, accusations, and the bitterest contempt, that I think I never have heard before of any tongue so unbridled in abuse. He does not even spare my wife, whom he most filthily traduces as my harlot. Now and then he makes mention of your Calvin, representing us all as having conspired together in [support of] the same opinions. He heaps together the opinions of the Fathers with all possible zeal; but he heaps together very many, by which he strives to prove that vows of Celibacy are both lawful and laudable, and having once been taken, are rigidly to be fulfilled. By the same authority of the Fathers he endeavours to prove that every one of us has the power of making such vows, provided we be willing, and prayers be offered up: in which particular he imitates [the Bishop of] Winchester;[o] although he does not equal him either in style or in acuteness of argument, for he adopts a very impure phraseology, and weaves silly sophisms; but he is more copious than Winchester in collecting the opinions of the Fathers. I think he was induced to select this particular subject, above all others, in writing against me (—for he had often heard me deliver opinions in the Schools directly opposed to his Papistical dogmas—) for the following reason—that he sees that, on this point, he has a sufficiently rich and copious testimony in the Fathers. Perhaps he has fully persuaded himself that he will gain this advantage—namely—that, in this question, I shall be compelled, however unwilling, openly to dissent from the Fathers; from whose field, should I leave him master of it, he will immediately sing his *Epinicia* among his comrades, and splendidly proclaim his triumph as having gloriously won the battle.[p] You have been frequently and happily conversant with this topic, both with Latomus, and with Winchester.[q] Wherefore, now I hold the wolf by the ears. If I answer, I shall seem to do what has already been done: for it would be impossible for me to bring

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I hear that the Emperor is about to go into Germany. Indeed, as I am told, he would have already gone, had he not been prevented by a severe fit of the gout; in consequence of

the necessity of Celibacy imposed on Priests and Monks. Bishop Gardiner wrote two reproachful letters against Bucer's work. Bucer prepared a rejoinder; but, on intimating his purpose to Henry VIII., the King requested him to postpone the publication, which, however, was put forth in 1548, under the title, "Gratulatio ad Ecclesiam Anglicanam, edit. 1548." Bucer tells us, (in this work, p. 53,) that, about three years before Gardiner's attack, (probably in 1543,) Gardiner, who was then the King's Ambassador in Germany, met himself and Alexander Alesa, the Scot, and had a violent discussion with him on this subject. "The veins in his hands, the like to which," says Bucer, "I never saw before, leapt up and trembled, whenever he heard any thing from us which gave him offence." See Strype, Memor. II., i. 103—107.

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[t] Smith's profligacy was notorious. His book on Celibacy and Monastic Vows, in connexion with his lewd character, occasioned Lawrence Humfrey to write the following smart Epigram:—

"Haud satis affabre tractatus fabrilia Smithus,
Librum De Vitâ Cœlibe composuit.
Dumque pudicitiam, dum Vota Monastica, laudat,
Stuprat; sacra notans fœdera Conjugii."

them to the Right Reverend the Lord [Bishop] of London, giving them no other commendation than the glory of our Saviour Christ requires from you. My adversaries pursue me with horrible calumnies, and load me with false accusations.

fication, and held him up to scorn in his subsequent lectures, "ambitiously, clamorously, and contentiously." (Letter from Bucer to a friend, August 29, 1550, preserved in Parker's MSS., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, p. 113, p. 103.) Bucer was himself present at one of these, namely, on the 30th July (the day after his return from Oxford). Bucer requested that he would refrain from creating public scandal, and disturbing the minds of young men; "as neither the Royal Visitors nor the King's Council could approve such personalities." The appeal was in vain. On the 8th of August Bucer put into Young's hands the late Disputation, requesting that he and Sedgwick would peruse it, and add any objections which they had failed to produce in the Schools, to which Bucer engaged to add his replies in writing. After a few hours, these papers were returned by Young, with a note signifying that neither he nor Sedgwick cared to re-enter on the subject. However, Young accepted some of Bucer's invitations to a private discussion at the Professor's house, in the presence of Dr. Pilkington, Vice-Master of St. John's, and Dr. Grindall, Vice-Master of Pembroke. Young's opprobrious conduct being continued, Bucer rejoined in his public lecture, on the 13th and the 18th of August, and also in the University pulpit. On the evening of the 23d of August he attended a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads, who requested him to furnish them with a written account of the dispute; which he transmitted to them on the 24th, requesting them to terminate the quarrel by appointing a public Disputation on the 9th of September, and as many following days as objectors could be found, from seven to ten in the morning, and from two to four in the afternoon. Young, also, was required to give his own account of the matter, which he did, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, on the 28th of August: he stated that Bucer had alarmed him, by holding him up as an opposer of the King's Homily, "On Good Works," but nevertheless professed his willingness to accept Bucer's challenge for a public disputation, provided it were put off for some weeks, as his health did not allow him to enter upon it so early as the day proposed. It does not appear that this second public Disputation ever took place; probably either Young shuffled it off, or Bucer's own illness postponed it, and (if it did not take place soon after the time proposed) Bucer's bad health, and at all events his death on the following 28th of February, put an end to it. His review, however, of Young's insidious letter to the Vice-Chancellor, which is very extended, is given in the "Scripta Anglicana," pp. 805-862; and, though prolix, is an acute and admirable defence of the doctrine of Justification by Faith. These seem to have been the papers sent to Grindall for transmission to Bishop Ridley, referred to in the letter in the text above.

Young's personal history is a melancholy one. He appears to have been a man of talent, but litigious, vain, and inconstant. He was Fellow of Trinity College. Notwithstanding his scandalous treatment of Bucer in the summer and autumn of 1550, he seems to have had his mind opened to a reception of the truths which he had so violently opposed; for, on the 2d of November, 1551,

Moreover, Young said, before the Senate of the University, and with great excitement, that I was in serious error. When I was present, he spoke more mildly, nevertheless to the same effect; namely, that he did not agree with me—and why? because the

we find him, with Alexander Nowel and others, by the dying pillow of Dr. Redman (the Master of Trinity College), hearing that good man's declaration, that his early belief in transubstantiation had first become "enfeebled" and then "quite dashed;" that "only faith doth justify," (provided it be "a true lively faith resting on Christ, and embracing Christ,") is "a godly, sweet, and comfortable doctrine;" that "our works cannot deserve the kingdom of God." On that solemn occasion he listened to Redman's exhortation that Young would cast aside the consent of the Church, as being "a weak staff to lean on," and that he would "read the Scriptures, for *there* was that which should comfort him when he should be in such case as he was then." Young retired with Wilkes (Master of Christ's College) into the next chamber, and said, "Master Doctor hath so moved me, that whereas I was of that opinion before in certain things that I would have burned and lost my life for them, now I doubt of them, ... and Master Doctor Redman's saying shall cause me to look more diligently for [about] them." Young himself signed, as a witness, every one of the sixteen articles of Redman's declaration; and moreover, on the following day, wrote a very long letter, giving an account of this affecting scene. (See the details in Foxe, Acts and Mon., VI., 267-274, and a beautiful cotemporary letter of Lever, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in Orig. Letters, edit. Parker Soc., p. 150.) Dr. Lever says that he conversed with Young himself on this subject, and that he was "led away from the doctrines of men to the religion of Christ by means of this divine discourse of Redman just before his death;" and Foxe records that he formally "recanted his former ignorance" (VI., 298). These convictions, however, passed away like the morning dew. At Queen Mary's accession, Young swallowed the bait of promotion, in 1553 accepted the Mastership of Pembroke on Ridley's deprivation, and, on the 10th April, 1554, being Vice-Chancellor, was named, among others, to proceed to Oxford to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, on the Popish dogma which he had so lately renounced. Young disputed only with Cranmer; his trifling discussion may be seen in Foxe, VI., 461-464. In 1556, we find him among "the chiefest" in bringing John Hullier, a minister at Cambridge, to the flames, on Jesus' College Green. In 1557, he was present at putting the University Seal to the instrument for exhuming and burning the remains of Bucer and Fagius. His vain and worthless pretensions to theological learning were not inaptly signified by the nick-name which was attached to him by Conrad Hubert of Strasburgh, who played on his name, *Iungus*, by changing it to *Fungus*, as Grindall reminds his friend in a letter dated May 23, 1559 (Zurich Letters, p. 43, 2d edit.). Grindall succeeded him as Master of Pembroke Hall, in 1559, from which post he was doubtless removed by Queen Elizabeth. These particulars of his life have been brought into one view, I believe, for the first time. —For a short account of Young's Controversy with Bucer, see Strype's Memorials, II., i., 327. See also the Letters of Peter Martyr to Bucer, now first published, No. XLVIII. and No. XLIX., pp. 68, 176, of the present volume. Of the time or circumstances of Young's death, I have no information.—G.

Scriptures and the Fathers teach otherwise: I therefore oppose Scripture and the Fathers. I believe, confess, and teach those very things in every respect which the King's Homily On Good Works teaches. If I appear to any one to teach otherwise, let him stand forth and prove his assertion.

It is a principle of conduct among some,—Not to give offence to anyone, even in the cause of Christ and of His Church; for matters may take a new turn. Wherever such [fear of giving] offence is an obstacle, the result is, that this cause is taken up very feebly and heartlessly by some persons. It is, however, my duty, not to betray this chief Article of religion through favour of any human [b] being; nor ought I for one moment to be tolerated in this Office,[c] if I am in error as regards this head of Christian doctrine. Young's written paper, containing many false things, was denied me, though I requested that I might have it, and though I offered my own paper to every one. I feel confident, however, that the cause of Christ, and mine, will be faithfully dealt with by Dr. Parker, and Dr. Sands [d] [Sandys]; as it will by the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Busbe [Busby]. I wish that Young and his cause were pleasing to Young's Master, as it ought to be in the sight of the Lord: however, the affair is as it is.

Hence I intreat and implore you, by Christ the Lord, to lay all the papers, which I write and transmit to you, in good faith before the Right Reverend the Lord [Bishop of] London; and to request the Right Reverend Father to give me his counsel in this cause; which I am confident he will not deem it troublesome to afford me, both in regard to his Episcopal Office, and to the solicitude which he is peculiarly bound to manifest towards this University, as its Visitor, a Doctor, a Divine, and the Præfect of your Hall. Transmit to me by a trusty man as soon as possible whatever counsel he may give, unless you yourself propose to come hither shortly. The cause of Christ, and of His Church, and of the University is at stake. I would willingly have sent also Young's paper; but, as I well recollect, I was unable to persuade him to let me have it. I have sent a duplicate of all these to that distinguished man, Master Cheke, and I have begged him to hand them over to the Right Reverend [the

[b] "Creaturæ."

[c] The Regius Professorship of Divinity.

[d] Sandys was then Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge.

Bishop of] London; but there may be delay; hence it is my wish that the Right Reverend Lord should see them also through your hands. For the adversaries are striving by wonderful artifices to lower the credit of my Office, wherever they are able; and they *are* able among not a few noble and other persons: for the living religion and doctrine of Christ is [the inheritance] of very few—the elect.

Many of my adversaries are now spreading about the declaration, that, to overawe them from disputing against me, they are unfairly oppressed by the King's Homily; hence it is believed that not one of them will come forth to-morrow[f] to dispute. They confess, therefore, that the King's Homily makes for me against them, and yet they have subscribed it! O the religion of these men! O minds, heedless of the Divine judgments! But do you, my brother, on this very account, urge on this business more diligently, and as soon as possible inform me clearly by letter what is the advice of the Right Reverend, what course he thinks I ought to take. You are a principal member of Christ; you are my colleague[g] in the most sacred office of administering the Word of God. Your cause, not less than mine, and that of all Christians, is at stake.

Farewell, and prosper in your efforts to promote this cause, as the cause of Christ! Give my duty and my warmest regards to the Right Reverend Lord and my patron.

Cambridge, August 31, 1550.

Yours, most devoted in the Lord,

MARTIN BUCER.

To Edmund Grindall, the very learned and pious Vice-Master of Pembroke Hall [*Cambridge*].

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[f] September 1st. There is some mistake in the dates: the day on which the *public* disputation was requested by Bucer, was the 9th of September, perhaps a misprint for the 1st.

[g] Grindall was then Lady Margaret's Preacher at Cambridge.

XLVIII.

MARTYR TO BUCER.

OXFORD, *August* 31, 1550.

[Latin, Holograph, MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 102, ff. 91-94.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

IF [your] messengers had been trust-worthy, I should have had no need to write to you in such haste; and I should, also, have had leisure to digest the things which I shall herein subjoin, both more perspicuously and in better order. But it has so happened that I received your former letter, dated on the 16th of August, only to-day, when I was about to sit down to dinner; and that I received your last, dated on the 30th of this same month, this very day also, at four o'clock in the afternoon! You see, then, that your two letters, written on the same subject, both came into my hands to-day almost at the same moment. However, as I am very unwilling that this messenger should return to you empty-handed, I write you these few thoughts on the subject.

As regards the head of this question, you have me consentient, and decidedly of your opinion, in every point. For, to allow a "*Middle State*"[h] between unrighteousness and Justification, would be a fruitful source [a *Lerna*] of infinite evils. Therefore you must attack, as indeed you do, this position with all your might.

Your adversary[i] thrusts forward Cornelius, because, (as he

[h] On the 18th of August Bucer felt it his duty, in his public lectures, to denounce what he calls "a figment" of Young, who, in his College lectures, had held Bucer up to the contempt of his pupils, and had maintained,—that there is "a *middle state*, between grace and wrath, piety and impiety, righteousness and sin, life and death, heaven and hell." See Bucer's own account of this angry controversy, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of Cambridge, August 24, 1550, printed in the *Scripta Anglicana*, pp. 797—803, published by Hubert of Strasburgh twenty-six years after his death.

[i] Young, of Trinity College.

says,) he had good works before Justification; and he relies on the opinion of Augustin. Then, why does he not listen to Augustin, when he says [k] (on faith and works, chap. xiv.), "that every one should know that he can be justified by faith, even though the works of the law have not gone before; for they follow him who *is* justified, they do not go before that he *may be* justified." These are his sentiments. You see, that good works do not go before for justifying, but follow. Whence it appears that Cornelius was justified, *before* he had done good works. The same Father says [l] (on the Spirit and the Letter, chap. xxvi.), "The [Apostle] wishes nothing else to be understood, when he says 'freely,' than that works do not go before Justification." And again; [m] "not that Justification comes *upon* the doers, but that Justification comes *before* the doers of the law:" in this place, also, it is clear what Augustin thought concerning good works; namely, that they do not go before, but follow Justification. Therefore, Cornelius could not, before Justification, do what was pleasing to God.

They adduce, as you say, this answer, from the 2nd [Question] in his Treatise addressed to Simplicianus; [n]—that "faith

[k] "When therefore the Apostle says that he concludes that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law; he does not mean by this, that, faith having been enjoined and professed, works of righteousness may be despised,—but that every one should know that he can be justified by faith, even though the works of the law have not gone before; for they follow him who *is* justified, they do not go before that he *may be* justified."—"Cum ergo dicit Apostolus, arbitrari se justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis; non hoc agit ut, præceptâ ac professâ fide, opera justitiæ contemnantur,—sed ut sciat se quisque per fidem posse justificari, etiamsi legis opera non præcesserint; sequuntur enim justificatum, non præcedunt justificandum." Augustinus, De fide et operibus, Cap. xiv., Op., IV., col. 68, edit. folio, Basil, 1541.

[l] "Cum dicat 'gratis' justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis, nihil aliud velit intelligi, in eo quod dicit 'gratis,' nisi quia Justificationem opera non præcedunt." Augustinus, De Spiritu et Literâ, Cap. xxvi., Opera III., col. 827.

[m] "Sic intelligendum est, factores legis justificabuntur, ut sciamus, aliter eos non esse factores legis nisi justificentur; ut non Justificatio factoribus accedat, sed factores legis Justificatio præcedat." Ibid, Cap. xvi., Opera III., col. 827.

[n] "But in some the grace of faith is such as is not sufficient for obtaining the kingdom of heaven; as in the Catechumens, as in Cornelius, before he was incorporated into the Church by participation of the Sacraments."—"Sed in quibusdam tanta est gratia fidei quanta non sufficit ad obtinendum Regnum Cœlorum; sicut in Catechumenis, sicut in Cornelio, antequam Sacramentorum

of a certain kind is not sufficient for the Catechumens, nor was it sufficient for Cornelius, for entering the kingdom of heaven." In these places I consider that Augustin refers to Baptism, which if Cornelius or the Catechumens had despised, faith would not have been sufficient for them; because it would not have been a true faith, but rather, as he there says, a sort of conception of faith. But neither did Cornelius despise Baptism, nor did those Catechumens, who were predestinated to life, neglect it.

That is a more knotty [*durior*] passage[o] in his Tract on the Predestination of the Saints; where he says, that he [Cornelius] was saved before he had believed in Christ, and, (if it were possible,) without faith in Christ: nor do I think it can be understood otherwise, than of *explicit* faith; for God seems to have predestinated His own to *that* [faith, to be exercised] as soon as the Gospel was preached; for, if they had despised its doctrine, they could not have been saved by *implied*[p] faith.

participatione incorporaretur Ecclesiæ." Augustinus ad Simplicianum, Mediolanensis Ecclesiæ Episcopum, de solutione quarundam Questionum ex Epistolâ Pauli ad Romanos, Lib. I. Quest. ii., Opera IV. col. 627.

[o] "Now it is 'of faith, not of works,' he says, 'lest any one should boast.'—For it is customarily said, Because he was a good man even before he believed, therefore he merited to believe; which may be said of Cornelius, whose alms had been accepted and prayers heard before he had believed in Christ.—And yet, he did not give and pray without some faith; for how could he call on Him in whom he had not believed?—But, if he could be saved without the faith of Christ, the Architect Apostle Peter would not have been sent to build him up.— . . . In whatever respect, therefore, Cornelius wrought well, both before he believed in Christ, and when he believed, and when he had believed,—the whole [merit] must be given to God, 'lest any one should boast.'"—"Jam 'Fides,' 'non ex operibus,' inquit, 'ne fortè quis extollatur.'—Solet enim dici, ideò credere meruit, quia vir bonus erat et antequam crederet; quod de Cornelio dici potest, cujus acceptæ sunt eleemosynæ et exauditæ orationes antequàm credidisset in Christum.—Nec, tamen, sine aliquâ fide donabat et orabat; nam quomodo invocabat in quem non crediderat? —Sed si posset sine fide Christi esse salvus, non ad eum edificandum mitteretur Architectus Apostolus Petrus.— . . . Quicquid, igitur, et antequàm in Christum crederet, et cum crederet, et cum credidisset, benè operatus est Cornelius, totum Deo dandum est, 'ne quis extollatur.'" AUGUSTINUS, De Prædestinatione Sanctorum, I., 7, Opera VII., col. 1240. I have printed this passage with breaks, to distinguish what appear to me to be the statements of Augustin from those of a supposed objector; a distinction which does not seem to have suggested itself to the mind of Peter Martyr. If I am wrong in my construction, the quotation can easily be read without the distinctions I have ventured to make.—G.

[p] "Implicitâ fide." I have preferred to translate this word, "*implied*,"

And that "Cornelius could not be saved," I understand (—not simply, but—) if he had neglected the *explicit* knowledge and salvation of God, in the order which at that time He willed should so take place concerning His people; (just as it was said of Christ, that "He could do no mighty work in His own country;" [q]) but this by no means proves that he was not previously justified, although he had not yet believed, *explicitly*, in Christ. Nathaniel, also, had not yet believed Christ by an *express* faith; aye, he [even] doubted whether He had come, and said hesitatingly, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" [r] Yet Christ said concerning him, that he was "an Israelite indeed in whom was no guile;" which could not have been said of a person not justified. Nevertheless, if he had not [afterwards] received Christ, and admitted His *express* doctrine, he could by no means have been saved. Moreover, the same Augustin, (in his Prologue on Christian Doctrine,[s]) distinctly states his opinion, that Cornelius was sent to Peter that he might be imbued [with knowledge], but not that he might be justified.

What has been next adduced, (from Augustin's Treatise on the deserts and the remission of sins,[t] Book ii.)—that their "sanctification does not avail to Catechumens,"—relates alto-

rather than "*implicit*;" since the latter term has acquired in modern usage a different sense from that here intended. By "fides *explicita*" was meant, a faith actually and expressly exercised on Christ as *having been* revealed: by "fides *implicata*," was meant, a disposition for faith, implied, and ready to be exercised as soon as Christ *should be* revealed; including of course a belief in God as far as His truth had already been revealed.—G.

[q] Mark vi. 4, 5. [r] John i. 46, 47.

[s] "Let us bear in mind . . . that Cornelius the Centurion, although the Angel had told him that his prayers had been heard and his alms had been regarded, was nevertheless sent to Peter to be imbued; from whom he might not only receive the Sacraments, but hear what was to be believed, what to be hoped, what to be loved."—"Cogitemus . . . Centurionem Cornelium, quamvis exauditas orationes ejus eleemosynasque respectas ei Angelus nunciaverat, Petro tamen traditum, per quem, non solum Sacramenta perciperit, sed etiam quid credendum, quid sperandum, quid diligendum esset, audiret." AUGUSTINUS, De Doctrinâ Christianâ, Prolog. in Lib. I., Opera III., col. 6.

[t] "Sanctification does not avail to the Catechumen, if he has not been baptized, for entering the kingdom of heaven, or for the remission of sins."—"Sanctificatio Catechumeni, si non fuerit baptizatus, non ei valet ad intrandum regnum cœlorum, aut ad peccatorum remissionem." AUGUSTINUS, De peccatorum meritis et remissione, Lib. II., Cap. xxv., Opera VII., col. 707, edit. Basil., 1542.

gether to Baptism, if they had neglected which, as I said, the sanctification they had received would not have been sufficient: because in fact it would have appeared that they had not true faith; but rather a sort of conception of it which in fact was not justifying faith, but rather sin. Although I perceive that Augustin tied the grace of God more than is right to the external Sacrament, which, howsoever [*ut ut*] it may please him, does not satisfy me. Sometimes, indeed, he acknowledges[u] the Baptism of Martyrdom; if, by reason of the shortness of time, water cannot be procured; and he seems to make no other exception.[v]

But, as regards Cornelius, we must always recur to what I said at first: since he had works pleasing to God, that is an evidence that he was justified, for works do not go before but follow justification.

If, however, they shall say that Augustin opposes himself; let him be left for reconciliation to those who prop themselves up by the Fathers, leaving the Scriptures. You yourself know how this same Father contends sharply (Against Julian[w]), that works done before Regeneration are sin: whence it clearly appears that he never dreamt of a "*Middle State*" of this sort.

There is no need to give one's-self much trouble about the Homily ascribed to Chrysostom[x]; since he says so many things

[u] "Whoever die for their confession of Christ, without receiving the washing of Regeneration;—it avails them for the remission of sins, as much as if they had been washed in the font of Baptism." "Quicunque, non percepto Regenerationis lavacro, pro Christi confessione moriuntur, tantum eis valet ad dimittenda peccata, quantum si abluerentur sacro fonte Baptismatis." AUGUSTINUS, De Civitate Dei, Lib. XIII., Opera V., col. 713, edit. Basil., 1542.

[v] "Et nil præterea videtur excipere."

[w] AUGUSTINUS, Contra Julianum Pelagianum, Opera VII., coll. 938—1143.

[x] In his explanation to the Vice-Chancellor, about his having endeavoured to discredit Bucer's opinions on Justification, Young had quoted a Homily ascribed to CHRYSOSTOM, "De fide, lege naturæ, et Spiritu Sancto." (See Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, p. 825, edit. 1577.) The passage (translated) was as follows:—"Cornelius had a testimony concerning his alms and prayers, but knew not Christ; believing indeed God, but not yet having been taught the word of God: and because his works were good and admirable, they pleased God the remunerator and lover of good things."....."For if he is saved by these things which Peter preached, Cornelius had not yet salvation from works." "Testimonium habuit Cornelius de eleemosynâ et precibus, sed Christum ignorabat; Deum quidem credens, Dei autem sermonem nondum edoctus; et

contradictory, not only to himself, but also to Augustin. He says, for instance, in the passage which your adversary produces (from the Predestination of Saints), that Cornelius *had not* faith, while Augustin writes, that he *had* faith.

I do not see any thing which makes against us in that passage (in his 2d Book against the Epistle of Parmenianus [y]), where he says, that "the Publican prayed and confessed his sins in order that he might be justified:" partly because, as you say, the order of nature not of time is laid down among such things; partly, also, because our Justification is always increased, and we pray, and do many other things, for its accessions.

Besides these, there is another passage [z] (in Volume IV., On

quia opera erant bona et admirabilia, placebant bonorum remuneratori et amatori Deo."....."Nam si his quæ prædicat Petrus salvatur, nondum habuit Cornelius ex operibus salutem." CHRYSOSTOMUS, [sive PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOMUS], Homil. De fide, lege nat. et Spir. Sanc. Bucer, in reply, doubts the genuineness of this Homily; and cites another Homily attributed, also erroneously he thinks, to Chrysostom, which sets forth a different doctrine. Young's CHRYSOSTOM, he says, denies faith to Cornelius; this CHRYSOSTOM allows faith to him! "But since," he adds, "we were baptized into neither CHRYSOSTOM, it will be far better for us to follow the Scripture of our God, into whom we were baptized, and in whom we live, and move, and have our being." (Scripta Angl., p. 828.) He admits that the Authors of the Royal Homily on Good Works have quoted some excellent passages from Young's PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOM (p. 834); but he declines to accept this, or any real or spurious Father for authority: "I make no human writer whatever of such account, as to give him credit for any affirmation or negation beyond the Word of God; and this, all the most approved and the most antient Fathers teach" (p. 839).

[y] "The Lord Himself, when the Pharisee and the Publican prayed in the same temple, says, that the Publican who confessed his sins was justified, rather than the Pharisee who boasted of his merits.....Although the justified [Publican] ceased to be a sinner; nevertheless he prayed as a sinner, and he confessed as a sinner, in order that he might be justified; and, being heard, he was justified, that he might cease to be a sinner. For he would not have ceased to be a sinner, except he had been heard as a sinner."—"Ipse Dominus, cum in uno templo orarent Pharisæus et Publicanus, Publicanum confitentem peccata sua magis justificatum dicit, quàm Pharisæum jactantem merita sua..... Quanquam justificatus [Publicanus] destiterat esse peccator, tamen, ut justificaretur, peccator orabat, et peccata confitebatur, et exauditus justificatus est, ut desineret esse peccator. Non utique desineret esse peccator, nisi prius exaudiretur peccator." AUGUSTINUS, contra Epistolam Parmeniani, Lib. II., Cap. viii., Opera VII., col. 33, edit. Basil., 1542.

[z] "Cornelius, when it has been announced to him by the Angel that his alms were accepted and his prayers heard, nevertheless is commanded to send to Peter on account of the unity of doctrine and the Sacraments; as though it had been said to him and his, 'Go, shew yourselves to the priests,' for as they went

XLIX.

MARTYR TO BUCER.

OXFORD, *September* 6, 1550.

[Latin, MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, a leaf not paged, but between p. 105 and p. 107.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*[e]

SINCE the wife of our [friend] Garbrand[f] has come to me, with a Swiss youth who is visiting them, I take the opportunity of writing to you. Firstly, because I am very anxious to hear of the happy success of your disputations. Secondly; that I may lay before you my advice, however late, and though perhaps little needed by you who are far more prudent than myself.

It seems to me that, in time to come, you should not too readily descend into the arena of public disputations[g] with every man [who may choose to challenge you]. You have now laboured much and long in the Church, and have acquired for yourself an authority not to be regretted, which your adversaries desire (—for they wish nothing else—) to see shaken and overthrown. Thereupon it may easily happen that many may be excited thereby, to give you trouble, and to suborn some among the enemies of the Gospel daily to stir up fresh contentions. Nothing can be lost by themselves on this ground. If they are conquered by you,—they will fall by the

[e] Strype simply states, that he had noticed this letter in the Library at Corpus. Cranmer, Vol. I., p. 359.

[f] Probably John Garbrand, who was then studying at Oxford in 1549, (Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 67,) and took his degree of M.A. there. He was Prebendary of Sarum, and Rector of North Crowley, Bucks. He was a friend of Jewel; was with him at his dying hour; and published some of Jewel's works. Jewel left his papers to him, and a gold ring.

[g] "Prudens Martyris consilium, ut non det se in disputationem cum gloriosulis Thrasonibus." ["Prudent advice of Martyr, that he should not give himself up to disputation with vain-glorious Blusterers."]—Marginal note, in the hand of Archbishop Parker.

hand of a mighty Achilles. But they are lying at the catch for some paltry boasting—that they have not shrunk from an encounter with you—that they have been courageous enough to defend their party, publicly, at Cambridge, against such a man as yourself—and that they have been willing to expose themselves to danger, in these critical times, for the truth, as they affect to call it! Moreover: as you have no fit judges of the contest, they will write an account of it to be circulated far and wide, not as the affair was really conducted, but as they wish it to be represented to advance their party. Hence, I cannot see that much benefit can come from disputations of this kind. But if turbulence should be excited; and if you cannot see it to be consistent with your office to suffer impious dogmas to be promulgated and defended;—there are two other ways by which you may easily come to the rescue. One is, to refute falsehoods, either in lectures, or in sermons. [The other is—] if you are challenged to a disputation—to select some one of the most learned of your friends as your substitute; let him propose the Question, and Respond; you can easily regulate the mode of keeping the Act; but you must not yourself engage in the disputation, since you have received your honourable discharge from battle;[h] it is [simply] your office, agreeably to the Royal Patent,[i] to preside over disputations, to assist your substitute, and to lay down a definite determination of the Question according to truth. If, however, it is absolutely required that you should dispute, do not commit yourself to the battle unless fit judges be appointed. Otherwise, as I said, they will scatter abroad such reports as they please, and will brag that they have disputed with *you*. The advice which I now give you, I have found exceedingly useful in my own matters (though I am not to be compared with you); and, indeed, it was clearly pointed out to me by prudent men, when I first came here. None are better skilled in their own interests, than they themselves. In my last letter, despatched as it was in the greatest haste, it did not enter my mind, nor indeed did scantiness of time allow me, to write to you as I have now done.

Our [University] is now holding its Convocation,[k] in which one Doctor of Laws, and some Bachelors of Divinity (probably

[h] "Emeritus est militiæ."

[i] "Regiis legibus."

[k] "Sua Commitia."

about twenty) will be promoted [to their degree]; whom it will be my province to *present*, as the phrase is: but with what conscience[l] I can do this, since a great number of them are most papistical, do you yourself judge. True it is, indeed, that the oath has been disannulled[m] by which I am bound to pledge my faith for them. But when it comes to this, that my vote[n] is requisite for granting [the degree],—it is very unpleasant to me to be driven to this point. However, since this is necessary, I have resolved to put them into this situation:—in my speech, I will leave a testimony, in the most open manner, as to my sentiments on their doctrine; thus, as it appears to me, I shall avoid both wounding my own conscience, and also being "a partaker of other men's sins," against which Paul warns Timothy.[o] In the meantime, no little tumult is now being excited in this Proceeding,[p] because the Registrar[q] of the Theological Degree demands more money than the Bachelors about to be promoted are willing to give: I do not see how that pecuniary[r] controversy is to be settled; and yet the Bachelors are to be initiated tomorrow.

Here, also, the Theological disputations must take place, at which I ought to preside according to custom; and, although I can have no doubt that the Question is known to those who are to dispute, nevertheless, by an incredible craftiness, they are so determinately silent about it that it has not yet been declared, nor can I at all fish out what it is. This is done with the design of forcing me either to say nothing, or to speak improviso or extempore, before the great concourse of people which is expected to assemble; nor do I doubt that they are cooking[s] something monstrous, and endeavouring to accomplish a plan for publicly abetting and defending with all their might the impiety which they cherish in their hearts. Well! I rely upon God who has never failed to give a mouth, a tongue, and wisdom to His people, when they are brought into such straits by the unprincipled conduct of men.

Now as regards my Strasburgh affairs. I am exceedingly

[l] "Quo animo."
[m] "Submotum."
[n] "Requiratur mea vox ut promoveatur."
[o] 1 Tim. v. 22.
[p] "Actione."
[q] "Præco Theologiæ:" the exact officer intended does not certainly appear.
[r] "Nummaria Controversia."
[s] "Aliquid monstri alere."

obliged to you for having bestowed as much attention to them as if they had been your own concern. How kindly, how pleasantly they have acted, in making all the buildings at my expense, I leave others to judge! But, things being so, I can truly testify that I never lived in any place so dearly as there. However, I am exceedingly sorry that we did not receive the houses from the Papists in the same state in which we leave them for their use. I hope I may say this without offence. I have been in possession of that Prebend four years; now you yourself know how affairs stood in the first [three] years, and how I dealt with the School during that time. I have enjoyed the full profits only one year. I cannot now state what I laid out in repairs of the buildings; for I did not keep an account; indeed, if I had, it would have profited me nothing, for it would have been easy for them to say that the greater part of the expenses was incurred to gratify my whims,[t] not that the house should be substantially improved. Hence I am indisposed to discuss these matters with them in many words, or even to weary yourself: they will find that, as they have dealt with me, so God will deal with them. Of this I am well assured, that I never found any one in that College, yourself alone excepted, who cared much about me and mine. But, more about this than I had intended; for I had resolved to say nothing farther: but, when through the great kindness you have always shewn to strangers, you have written so particularly to me on this affair, I could not refrain from these few words in reply.

May you prosper in the Lord. My wife, who is convalescent, and Julius, send their best wishes for the welfare of yourself, and of your wife if she be with you.

Oxford, September 6, 1550.

Yours *ex animo*,

PETER MARTYR.

To the distinguished man Master Doctor Martin Bucer, Regius Professor of Divinity, my most respected friend, at Cambridge.

" *Received 9th September.*

[t] " Animi causâ, non ut domus quoad præcipua membra melior fieret."

L.

MARTYR TO BUCER.

OXFORD, *September* 10, 1550.

[Latin; Holograph, MSS. British Museum, Additional 19,400, No. 3, being a Volume of Original Letters of the Reformers, presented by the late Dawson Turner, Esq., of Yarmouth.—Printed (but not translated) by Strype,—from the Original then in MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,—in his Memorials of Cranmer, II., Records, No. LX., p. 896, edit. 8vo., Oxford, 1840.]

† *Translation now first published.*

To your prolix letter—on that very account particularly delightful to me—I reply, in my present epistle, briefly; partly, because the messenger is about to return sooner than I had expected; partly, because the subject on which you desire to have my thoughts, must not be hastily decided, but rather requires the most diligent examination. I will therefore take care that you shall have my sentiments, in writing, on that matter, as soon as possible; provided I can find a sure person, to whom I may with confidence entrust my letter.

I rejoice exceedingly that those Disputations have had that success, which God in His Providence willed that they should have. Since neither the Visitors, nor any grave Judges, were present, I can hardly assure myself that any great profit could have resulted from them, either to the University or to the Church. Not that I have the slightest doubt, either as to the powers and gifts which have been divinely conferred on you, nor that I distrust the goodness of the cause; but, because I see the stratagem [u] of those men. It is sufficient for them, to have fought. They will afterwards scatter their falsehoods about. They will never relax their efforts. And the Devil will take care that everything shall be exaggerated, and amplified in the most vain-glorious [v] way among his members. Wherefore, I do not wonder that Christ, in the first instance, confirmed the Apostolic Disputations by miracles. I could wish He might see fit at some time to restrain those headstrong [w] men, given up to

[u] "Consilium." [v] "Honorificentissimè." [w] "Obfirmatos."

destruction[x] through the hardness of their hearts, by the same power with which he arrested[y] Elymas the Sorcerer by Paul; since there is no other method by which they can be brought to desist from opposing the truth, and striving to obscure it by their juggleries,[z] like Pharaoh's Magicians.

Hear, in a few words, what happened to me at our Convocation.[a] The Bachelors in Divinity were created, whom I presented according to usage: and, as it is customary for them to dispute in public, they appointed a Popish Respondent. They also suppressed the names of the Popish Opponents, and the Question to be disputed, by the strictest silence; only communicating the subject to each other. All this was done, that I might have no knowledge of it. On my urging them to declare it, they said, it was no business of mine, it was sufficient that the disputants were mutually made acquainted with it. So, at two o'clock (I think) in the afternoon of the day assigned for Disputation, they published the Question, and affixed it to the doors of the Church.[b] Their wish was, to defend their blessed Transubstantiation, and the Impanation of the Body of Christ. That they might exclude me as the Moderator,[c] they choose for themselves another Father (as the phrase is) Doctor Chedsey.[d] There the Opponents would have produced all my arguments. The Respondent would have overthrown them, in such way as he pleased. The Opponents would have said, that they were content with the proposed solution. The Father, slipt into my place, would have vehemently approved the whole proceeding. On that day, no opportunity of speaking would have been given to me: (—for those Disputations were to have taken place latest of all towards evening, after the Civil Law Candidates had kept their Acts; for they were to commence their Doctorate that day—) or, if I had been allowed to say anything, I must have spoken almost in the night itself, all the hearers being tired and going away. The Convocation would have been at an end; and on all sides there would have been a shout of victory, as if the

[x] "Gehennæ addictos." [y] "Repressit." [z] "Præstigiis."

[a] "Comitiis." [b] The University Church, Great St. Mary's.

[c] "Arbitrem."

[d] Doctor William Chedsey, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Chaplain to bishop Bonner, disputed with Peter Martyr at Oxford, May, 1549. Also with Cranmer, at Oxford, April 16, 1554. He abjured Popery in the reign of Edward VI., but fell off again.

Oxonians had beautifully defended their cause. There was such a crowd at this Convocation, as can scarcely be believed; for they had summoned by letters as many as they could from all quarters. Among other Chaplains, as they are called, were present, the Bishop of Winchester's, Doctor Seton,[e] and the Chaplain of the Bishop of Durham.

These are the arts of our adversaries! With such tricks they choose to enter on their contests! But,—how it happened I cannot learn—unexpectedly our Vice-Chancellor, (whether it be that he feared some disturbance, or for some other reason which is unknown to me,) forbade the Theologians to dispute that day. I was present in the arena, ready to act as might seem prudent; relying on the help of the Lord, who in that extremity of the greatest necessity would have given both a mouth and a tongue.

I have written this, in order that you may understand the arts of our antagonists, and believe that nothing is done by them with a simple mind.

At that time there was with me here your Vice-Chancellor [Dr. Walter Haddon][f] in bad health; he seemed, however, to be somewhat refreshed. We conversed a good deal about you. Among other things, he assured me that, had his health permitted him to be at Cambridge when those matters happened

[e] Doctor Seton, B.D., of St. John's College, Cambridge, parson of Hinton, in the county of Southampton, chaplain to Stephen Gardiner, was examined as a witness against the bishop, December 15, 1550, and Feb. 3, 1551 (Fox, VI., 199, 254); he was one of those appointed to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, March 10, 1554, at Oxford. (Fox, VI., 439.) We find him again at Bradford's second examination, January 29, 1555, railing at that holy martyr. (Fox, VII., 158, 159.) At the martyrdom of Thomas Benbridge, he was present at the stake, engaged in the same work of persecution, July 29, 1558. (Fox, VIII., 491.)

[f] Walter Haddon, LL.D., was one of the great and eminent lights of the Reformation, in Cambridge, under King Edward VI.; he was made the President of Magdalen College, Oxon, by Mandate from Edward VI., about 1552, being then aged about thirty-six. Martin Bucer, in 1550, appointed him one of his executors. He died in 1572, was buried in Christ's Church, London, and had a monumental inscription there, preserved in Stow's Survey. When Queen Elizabeth was asked whether she preferred him or Buchanan for learning, she replied, "*Buchananum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini postpono.*" The Editor of "The Examinations and Writings of John Philpot," Parker Society, 1842, has confounded him with James Haddon, who disputed in the Convocation, summoned by Queen Mary, October 6, 1553.

between yourself and Young, he would easily have brought that man to a more modest course of action. I earnestly desire his restoration to health; since I see he is well disposed towards you, and embraces religion sincerely.

My wife is convalescent, by the grace of God: an event which conduces very greatly both to my convenience and to my happiness; and I return you my warmest thanks for your assurance that it is so gratifying to yourself. Salute your Agnes and Nicholas, and that companion[g] of yours who was with us,—on the behalf of myself, my wife, and Julius; all of whom, together with Master the Sub-Dean, and Master Carow [? Carew], desire to salute you with the highest regard. September 10,[h] 1550. Oxford.

Yours in Christ,

PETER MARTYR.

LI.

BUCER TO THE MINISTERS AT STRASBURGH.[hh]

CAMBRIDGE, *October* 14, [1550].

[From the Original in the Marbach Library at Strasburgh, printed by Fecht, in his Epistolæ Theologicæ, P. II., p. 17, at the end of his Hist. Ecclesiast. Sæc. XVI. Supplementum, 4to., Francofurti, 1684.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*[i]

FATHERS, COLLEAGUES, BRETHREN, ever to be venerated, esteemed, respected, beloved, and cherished with my whole heart,—May our Lord Jesus Christ, our Hope, Salvation, and

[g] Can this be Bradford, the Martyr?—who accompanied Bucer to Oxford on a visit to Martyr, July 16. See above, p. 151, note (s).

[h] So in the Autograph: but Strype has, "20th September."

[hh] There is a letter from Bucer and Fagius to the ministers at Strasburgh, dated April 26, 1549, printed in Orig. Letters, Parker Soc., p. 534.—Also one from Bucer to the same, dated Dec. 26, 1549 (by evident mistake said to be 1550), printed in Orig. Letters, p. 549.

[i] The letter is chiefly occupied with pious remarks and advice on the state of the Church at Strasburgh.

Life eternal, keep you powerfully, bless you largely in all your ministry, and make you and your families happy in everything. . . . . Your letter, brought to me by my people, has afforded me an excellent testimony, and a sweet taste, of our sincere and nobly-enduring fellowship and union in the Lord; you will, therefore, easily understand how much you have refreshed me with holy delight, and with consolation in our multiplied and common afflictions. . . . . My reception here is sufficiently kind; and I have as much comfort as consists with so great a change in climate, language, diet, and manners, and with the difficulties attending the cultivation of so much fallow-ground, only recently begun to be improved. You, who have such kind dispositions, and are by no means destitute of natural affections, will readily comprehend the powerful influence [on my mind] of my yearnings for my native land, of desire for the regeneration of my country and of the Church, and of my regrets for yourselves my co-pastors, who for so many years have been my faithful and pleasant companions in so many dangers and labours. . . . . What blessings our Saviour is bestowing on His people in this Kingdom, and what are my own circumstances,—will be fully related to you by our Christopher;[k] for whose leave of absence[l] I return you hearty thanks, and I trust that he will so approve himself to all and to the Church, both in his ministry and in all his other duties, through life, that he will thus testify my gratitude to you. Your attention to me in this respect has exceedingly gratified me, and has confirmed me in my conviction of the friendliness of yourselves and of the Senate with regard to my leave of absence;[m] indeed, your permission of my absence has always been marked by the wish that I should remain altogether yours,—as truly I am, and, by the help of Christ, I will be for ever. Farewell—as well as you could wish to be—all of you, together with those excellent men the presbyters, their wives, and families. Do not forget earnestly to commend to our Saviour Christ, in your prayers, the holy studies and very pious endeavours of our King, the well-being of the whole Kingdom, and my ministry.

Cambridge, October 14, [1550]; on which day, after dinner, I took leave of Christopher. Make me a gratuity of this period

[k] One of the ministers at Strasburgh: see Orig. Lett., p. 334.

[l] "Dimissione."

[m] "Dimissionem mei."

of time,[n] which, through the medium of this my son,[o] has been spent in the enjoyment of you all, my dearest colleagues and brethren, and of the whole of our Church yonder. My son will make amends for this [loss of] time, by his diligence, and by his profitable attention to his ministry and his other duties. Amen.

Entirely, as ever, your Minister and Brother,

Affectionately attached to you all,

MART. BUCER.

LII.

BISHOP HOOPER TO BUCER.

LONDON, *October* 17, 1550.

[Latin: Copy in a MS. Collection belonging to the Rev. J. F. Russell, Incumbent of Greenhithe, Kent; formerly in possession of Pickering, the Bookseller, Piccadilly: it is a volume containing seventy-four letters and documents, supposed to have been in the hands of Bp. Burnet; from which this letter is printed in Hooper's Works, II. xiv., edit. Park. Soc., 1852.—English Translation, in the Tract printed 1566, called, "The Resolution of D. Martin Bucer, and of D. Peter Martyr, on the apparel of Ministers and other indifferent things," London, Jugge, p. 59; reprinted by Strype, Memorials II. ii., 455, Records M.M.]

New Translation.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,—You will understand from this despatch the cause which has involved me in strife. I intreat you to have the condescension to give it a single perusal, and, if you find anything amiss, I pray you to point it out to me by letter. I beseech you to illustrate, in the margin, by your perspicuity and by more apt words, anything that I have said[p] too obscurely or

[n] "Condonate hoc mihi temporis."

[o] Probably this was Bucer's son-in-law; for Strype says he only had one son, Nathaniel, and one daughter, Elizabeth, whom he left behind him at Strasburgh when he came into England. Strype's Cranmer, I., 358, Oxf. edit., 1840.

[p] The paper on the Vestments, sent to Bucer and to Martyr by Bishop Hooper, is not known to exist:—except, possibly, it be the same as the "MS. Book exhibited to the King's Council by D. Hoper, Oct. 3, 1550;" of which a very small fragment was printed by Glocester Ridley, Life of Bishop Ridley, p. 316, London, 1763, and was reprinted in Rev. A. Townsend's Writings of Bradford, II., 373, edit. Parker Society, 1853.

more briefly than the matter requires. I earnestly intreat you to subscribe your name at the end, if you see the cause to be just, and if you esteem it worthy of a pious minister.

I send also what I wrote[q] three years ago on the Decalogue, that your Excellency may know what is my opinion on Divorce: be kind enough to read this also, that, if through human frailty I have erred in this matter, I may correct it, being admonished by your learning and fraternal admonition. I must not now write to you about the many and false calumnies by which I have been traduced on this subject.[r] I therefore intreat your Fathership, nor do I doubt that I shall easily succeed in my petition, that you would aid the conflicting Church by those undoubtedly great and splendid gifts which He has conferred on you.

I make the same request from Master Doctor Martyr, to whom (when your prudent opinion and judgment shall have been declared) the messenger who conveys this to you will proceed.

May the Lord Jesus long preserve your Excellency!

London, October 17, 1550.

In good wishes and prayer entirely yours,

JO. HOPPER.

To Master Martin Bucer, a perfect Theologian, his most Revered Master and Preceptor.

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[q] See his Exposition of the Seventh Commandment,—Early Writings of Hooper by Rev. S. Carr, edit. Parker Society, 1843, pp. 382-387.

[r] This sentence was left out in the old English translation, put forth in 1566, and reprinted by Strype.

LIII.

MARTYR TO BISHOP HOOPER.

OXFORD, *November* 4, 1550.

[MSS. of John More, Bishop of Ely, given by George I. to the University Library, Cambridge, Mm. 4.14, Art. 2.—Printed in Petri Martyris Epistolæ Theologicæ, edit. fol. Lond., 1583, Epist. IV., p. 1085, at the end of the "Loci Communes."—Translated in "The Resolution of D. Martin Bucer and D. Peter Martyr, concerning thapparel of Ministers, and other indifferent things,"[a] (1566) p. 61: also in Martyr's Divine Epistles, translated by Anthonie Marten, p. 116, col. 2, folio, London, 1583.—The substance is given by Strype, Cranmer, I., pp. 304-307; see also Memor., II., i., 350, edit. Oxford, 1822.]

New Translation (based on Marten's).

REVEREND AND MOST BELOVED IN CHRIST JESUS,—The letter you wrote me a few days ago I had determined to answer before this time; but I have been so hindered by weighty and manifold engagements, that, until just now, I could neither satisfy my own wish nor, perhaps, your desire. Wherefore, take this delay in good part, according to your courtesy and wisdom.

What you have recorded concerning the controversy that has arisen between you and the Reverend Lord of London, regarding the Vestments of the ministers of the Church, I have both read, as you had requested, and have considered with as great attention as I could in so short a time: which I therefore mention, because

[a] The *whole* title (or rather the three combined titles) of this rare book is as follows:—"Whether it be mortall sinne to transgresse ciuil lawes which be the commaundementes of ciuill magistrates.—The iudgement of Philip Melancthon in his Epitome of Morall Philosophie.—The Resolution of D. Hen. Bullinger, and D. Rod. Gualter, of D. Martin Bucer, and D. Peter Martyr, concernyng thapparel of ministers, and other indifferent things."—The Colophon, at p. 102, is: "Imprinted at London in Powles Churchyarde by Richard Jugge, Printer to the Queenes Maiestie. Cum Privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis."—Small 8vo., no date, pp. 134. There are copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Public Library, Cambridge; and Trinity College, Cambridge.—Strype supposes it to have been put forth by Archbishop Parker (Annals, I., ii., 175).

I could not keep your Manuscript longer than one night. For the messenger, by whom I received it, departed hence the following day, very early in the morning, to Cambridge, whither you had desired that by that person I should send what I had read to Master Bucer; which I did diligently and without delay.

In that brief space which was then given I so comprehended with myself the whole cause, that at first I took no small pleasure in your singular and ardent zeal, with which you endeavour that the Christian religion may again approach to chaste and simple purity. For what ought to be more desired by all godly men, than that all things may by little and little be cut off which have scarcely anything or nothing that can be turned to solid edification, and which by godly minds are rather considered to be redundant, and, in a manner, superfluous? To speak, indeed, about myself, I take it ill to be torn from that plain and pure custom which you have known that we all for a long time used at Strasburgh, where the distinctions of vestments as to holy services had been taken away, even as I ever most of all approved that custom as the more pure, and mostly savouring of the apostolic Church. And I pray the eternal God, that both these may as long as possible be preserved, and may at length be received wheresover the Church of Christ is restored.

You see, therefore, that in the chief and principal point I do not differ from you, but earnestly wish that what you aim at should take place. This my desire is enkindled partly by the wish to approach as near as possible to holy Scripture in ceremonies, and to carry out the imitation of the better times of the Church; and partly by perceiving that the Pope's followers endeavour still by these relics to restore at least some appearance of the Mass, and cleave to them more than the nature of things indifferent requires.

Neither these things, however, nor yet the reasons adduced by you, bring me to the point of deciding the use of Vestments of this kind to be fatal, or in their nature contrary to the Word of God: this use I consider to be altogether indifferent, though I am not ignorant that those things which are indifferent can sometimes be used, but ought sometimes to be removed. To eat a thing strangled is in itself indifferent; it is, however, sometimes convenient to set aside its use; but it is sometimes most freely to be eaten. And in this way, although, as I said, I do

not think a diversity of vestments ought to be maintained in holy services, nevertheless I would by no means say it was ungodly, so as to venture to condemn whomsoever I should see using it. Certainly, if I were so persuaded, I would never have communicated here with the Church in England, in which a diversity of this kind has been maintained to this day. For although, as I said, I little approve it, yet I see that sometimes in these indifferent[t] matters some things, although they be grievous and burdensome, are to be borne so long as it is not permitted by law to deviate from them;[u] lest, if we contend for them more bitterly than we ought, this may be a hindrance to the advancement of the Gospel, and those things which are in their nature indifferent may, by our vehement contention, be represented as ungodly. Now these things, unless I am deceived, bring with them two most heavy inconveniences. For, if we should first suffer the Gospel both to be spread abroad and to take deep root, men would perhaps be better and more easily persuaded to remove these outward appurtenances. While any one is sick, and is by little and little amending, he takes it very ill that certain slight and trifling things,[v] as well in food as in drink, should be removed from him. But the same person, having recovered his health, rejects those things of his own accord as disagreeable and of little use.

If England were first well and diligently instructed and confirmed in the most necessary heads of religion, she would not, in my opinion, at length take it in ill part that these things, however superfluous, should be removed. But at this time, since a change is being introduced in necessary points of religion, and that with so great difficulty, if we should also speak of those things as ungodly which are indifferent, the minds of almost all men would be so turned away from us, that they would no longer shew themselves to be attentive and patient hearers of sound doctrine and necessary sermons. Much without dispute does your England owe to you, inasmuch as you have laboured in no ordinary measure in preaching and teaching. And you in turn have won to yourself from that same England favour and great authority, through which you will be able profitably to accomplish much for the glory of God. Only beware of this,

[t] "Differentibus."

[u] "Quoad non aliter liceat."

[v] "Levicula et inepta."

that you become not by unseasonable and too bitter sermons a hindrance to yourself.

Do not, however, gather from hence that I think a minister of the Gospel should never strive to assert the truth of the Scriptures and of doctrines. This I do not affirm, who daily come forward, both in public and private disputations, in the most weighty controversies, for religion. But this I say, that these things which are of less moment ought not to be a hindrance through our contention; nor ought they so to be made much of as to be introduced; or, being introduced, to be confirmed.

Further, if we proceed to oppose these indifferent things as destructive and ungodly, we condemn very many Churches that are not alien from the Gospel, and we too bitterly reprove innumerable Churches, which are of old distinguished as most worthy of praise. I do not forget that the authority of Churches, whether present or past, ought not to be of such force, that by them the truth of God's Word should be overborne: for that ought to remain unshaken and unmoved, even should the sky crack and fall on it.[x] But I contend, that, on account of things indifferent, this ought by no means to come to pass that churches should be condemned, or that we should speak unfavourably of them. And, because I perceive that you consider these things to be by no means indifferent, perhaps it will be useful now to examine the reasons by which you persuade yourself of this. Therefore, to deal with them briefly as you do, I will chiefly reduce them to two points.

First, you say that the priesthood of Aaron, to which these distinctions of vestments seem to belong, ought not to be recalled. For, since we have Christ for a priest, the ceremonies of Aaron have been abolished, and, if godliness be preserved, ought not to be called in again.

Another foundation of your reasons is, that these are the inventions of Antichrist; and, since we ought to be alien, not only from the Pope, but from all his false inventions, you would that the distinctive dresses of ministers should be thrown off.

Since these are your two principal batteries, we shall, in the first place, look into them. Then it will be needful to add what-

[x] Si fractus illabatur orbis. Horace, Carm., III., iii. 7.

ever else beside these may be remembered as brought forward by you to confirm your opinion.

In the law or priesthood of Aaron there were sacraments by which it pleased God to seal the promises of Christ to come. All these I know were abolished, and we must believe that Christ has now already been given, and is not now to be given; and, since other seals of the Divine promises have been given by the Lord himself under the Gospel—I mean bread and wine,—we ought by no means to renew the old tokens. Nevertheless, some acts were there so ordained, that they cannot properly be called sacraments; for they served to comeliness, to order, and some profit; and these acts, as agreeable to the light of nature, and conducing to our advantage, might, I consider, be recalled and retained. Who does not see that the Apostles, for peace and that believers might more easily live together, commanded the Gentiles to abstain from blood and from anything strangled (Acts xv. 20)?—These things without dispute were of Aaron, if you wish to comprehend in general all things that were in the law. That tithes also have been at this day in numberless places appointed for the maintenance of the Church's ministers, none of us are ignorant. The singing of psalms and hymns in sacred assemblies, you will not easily prove from the writings of the New Testament; but that this was done of old is most clearly manifest. I pass over, that Ambrose, in interpreting the fourteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians (v. 26), most plainly says, that the custom of prophesying given there by Paul, having been taken from the synagogues, was transferred to our Churches. Further, if I were somewhat diligently to examine and weigh (which time by no means permits), I could find not a few things, which our Church has borrowed from the decrees of Moses, and that from the very earliest times. And (not to omit this) we have feast days in remembrance of the Lord's resurrection, of his nativity, of Pentecost, and of the death of Christ. Should all these things be abolished, because they are traces of the old law?

From all these things I think you see that all things of Aaron's priesthood have not been so abolished, that none of them can be retained or used. And do not straightway say to me, there will now be a window opened to all abuses, to holy water, to incense, and endless other matters of that sort. For

your opponents will answer, that a limit must be appointed in the things they recall and retain, in order that the assembly of the faithful be not burdened with this kind of matters, and that neither the worship nor power of religion be placed in them, as we see to be done in holy water and incense. Finally, that Christian liberty be not perilled, we must take care that, although some be restored, they be not so replaced, as if they were necessary for obtaining salvation. But we ought to tolerate things which are of this sort, with the understanding, that, when they appear less profitable, they be laid aside; even as I have testified what I think should be done this day regarding this diversity of vestments; for, in truth, I had rather that were set aside:[y] but, since that could not be done, I have resolved to bear it until better times be given. Would that the Churches which are in Germany would redeem their ancient liberty at the expense of this one thing, though I by all means wish that nothing superfluous be obtruded on them.

But now let us weigh the other argument, by which "the use of these vestments appeared not to be lawful, because they were invented by papal tyranny." Here I do not see how it can be firmly concluded, that we can use nothing which had usually been done in the papacy. Doubtless we must take care, that we afflict not the Church of Christ with the undue bondage of being able to adopt nothing which is of the Pope. Certainly our forefathers received the temples of idols, and turned them into holy mansions in which Christ should be worshipped. And the revenues that were consecrated to the gods of the heathen, to theatrical plays, and to vestal virgins, they took for maintaining the ministers of the Church; whereas these things had formerly served, not merely Antichrist, but the devil. Moreover, even the verses of the poets, which had been dedicated to the muses and to various gods, or to the acting of fables in the theatre, to appease the gods, when they were profitable, beautiful, and true, were used by Church writers; and that by the example of the Apostle, who did not disdain to cite Menander, Aratus, and Epimenides, and that in the holy Scripture itself which he delivered; and those words which otherwise were profane he adapted to Divine worship; unless, perhaps, you will say that

[y] "Repositum," apparently a misprint for "sepositum."

his words, copied in holy Scripture, serve less to the worship of God, than the visible words which are used in the sacraments. Besides—who does not understand, that wine was consecrated to Bacchus, bread to Ceres, water to Neptune, oil to Minerva, letters to Mercury, song to the Muses or Apollo? and very many other things of this kind you can find in Tertullian, "On the Military Crown," where he treats of almost the same argument. But all these things we are not afraid freely to use, as well in sacred as in common uses, although they had been dedicated to demons or idols.

Nor do I straightway grant, that these differences of vestments had their origin from the Pope, since we read in Ecclesiastical History, that the Apostle John at Ephesus wore the "Petalum" or Pontifical Plate.[z] And concerning the martyr Cyprian the deacon Pontius testifies, that when he was about to be beheaded, he gave his robe to the executioners, his Dalmatian vestment to the deacons, and stood in his linen garments. Chrysostom besides makes mention of the white vestment of the ministers of the Church. And the old writers testify that the Christians, when they came [over] to Christ, changed their dress, and instead of a Toga put on a Pallium;[a] for which, when they were mocked by the heathen, Tertullian wrote a most learned book, "On the Pallium." Nor do I think you are ignorant, that a white Vestment[b] was given to those who were being initiated in baptism. It appears, therefore, that there were some distinctions of vestments in the Church, earlier than the papal tyranny. But admit that these things were invented by the Pope, I do not persuade myself, that the wickedness of the papacy is so great, that it renders whatever it touches altogether defiled and polluted, so as not possibly to be given to virtuous and godly men for a holy use.

Now I think you understand what my judgment is about either recalling or retaining the Mosaic or papistic ceremonies. Wherefore having thus briefly noted these things concerning the

[z] Eusebius, on the authority of Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, in Euseb. Hist. Eccl., Book III., chap. xxxi., and Book V., chap. xxiv. See Ridley's Reply to Hooper on the Vestments, printed for the first time in Bradford's Works, ii., 381, Parker Society, edit. 1853; and Whitgift's Defence of the Answer, Tract VII., Works ii., pp. 16, 22-27, Parker Society, edit. 1852.

[a] A rectangular piece of cloth, commonly worn over the tunic.

[b] The Chrysom.

two principal heads of your reasons, I now come to that which you yourself also acknowledge, that all human inventions are not at once to be condemned. For it was clearly a human invention, that we communicate in the morning, rather than after dinner: and it was a human invention, that the prices of things that were sold in the primitive Church were laid at the Apostles' feet. I will acknowledge, together with you, that these vestments are a human invention, and by themselves cannot edify: but it will be thought by some, that it is profitable for them to be borne for a time; for that perhaps will bring it to pass, that those contentions will be avoided, by which there is danger of greater fruit and richer profit being hindered, and of the minds of men being (as we see happen) straightway turned from the Gospel. I pass over, that they who defend these things will be able to put forward some honest and just meaning not alien from the Scripture. The Church's ministers are the angels and messengers of God, as Malachi testifies; and the angels have almost always appeared clothed in white vestments. How shall we deprive the Church of this liberty, of being able to signify anything by her actions and ceremonies? provided that be done, without resting there the worship of God, and modestly and in few things, so that Christ's people be not burdened with ceremonies, and better things be not hindered. You may say, 'Let them show themselves angels, and not *signify* it.' I pay attention: but the same might have been answered to Paul, when he decreed to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xi. 5), that the woman should have her head covered, and the man uncovered; (for he urges this only by way of signification). Any one of the Church of Corinth might have answered him: "Let the man *approve* himself to be head of the woman; and let the woman *prove* herself to be subject to the man by her actions and life; but not strive to declare this by *signs*." But the Apostle saw that this too is useful, that we should not only live well, but also be admonished concerning our duty by words and signs. But, if by this there is given occasion of error to the weak, let them be advised to regard these things as indifferent; let them be taught by sermons, not to judge the worship of God as placed in these things.

But, as to whether the eyes of bystanders will be turned away, through the difference of Vestments, from thinking of serious

things, this will not perhaps be judged by all to be the fact. For first our opponents will be able to answer, that will not come to pass, if those Vestments which they shall use be without excess and very simple, and such as have hitherto been used in sacred services; for custom and utility take away wonder. Moreover they will perhaps answer, it is likely that, being thoroughly moved by that wonder, they may consider more attentively things that are serious. To this end the symbols of sacraments seem to be devised, that even by the very sight and sense we may be drawn to think on Divine things. Neither do I think that tyranny is instantly brought in, if any indifferent thing be appointed to be done in the Church, and be constantly performed by many. At this day we so administer the Eucharist in the morning time, that after dinner we will not have the communion in the sacred assembly. But who will say, that this, which we all do with the like will and consent, is tyrannical? To myself truly, as I have now often mentioned, it would be more agreeable, that we should only do what Christ did and delivered to his Apostles. But, if any indifferent things have been added, I would not now sharply strive on this account; especially when we see that they by whom the light of the Gospel has been greatly promoted in England, and can be yet more promoted, oppose themselves to us. I acknowledge, indeed, with you, that "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." (Rom. xiv. 23.) But what the apostle wrote to Titus seems, above all things, to promote our having a quiet conscience in our actions: "Unto the pure all things are pure;" and to Timothy, "Every creature of God is good." But it is not necessarily required, that we should show express mention, in holy Scripture, of the particular things which we use: this is enough to know by faith, on the whole,—that indifferent things cannot defile those who live with a pure and sincere mind and conscience.

These things I have shortly touched on concerning the controversy which you proposed to me, and out of which with all my heart I wish that you may happily disengage yourself. What I have written I beg you to take in good part. For, if I had been able to reply either better or more clearly, perhaps I might have given more satisfaction to your request: but, because it is not given to all men to write concerning these matters aptly and readily, you must pardon me. Besides you

know that I have been always ready, when better informed, to yield to the truth. Neither is it only of late that I am persuaded in my mind of the opinion which I have now declared: but I concluded, even from the first when I gave my mind to the Gospel, that these differences of vestment should not be used; but I yet thought that the use of these differences was not in itself or its own nature ungodly or of fatal consequence, provided other things, which are prescribed to us by the Word of God, remain sound.

I pray Almighty God to preserve you with all your family safe and well, through Jesus Christ our Lord. My wife bids me heartily salute you, and with me salutes your most excellent wife. Farewell.

Oxford, 4th November, 1550.

Concerning Divorce I do not reply to you; partly because you yourself put off the matter to another time; partly because I very well know that you understand what I think, together with the Church of Strasburgh and all the other brethren in Christ.

LIV.

MARTYR TO BUCER.

OXFORD, *November 11, 1550.

[Latin, MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, leaf not paged, but the next folio to p. 105.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

I HAVE perused, man of God, what you have written so learnedly and piously *on the Vestment controversy;* and with no small satisfaction; both because I acknowledge the truth of what you say; and, also, because your sentiments agree throughout with those which I had sent to Hopper himself at London, [on the 4th of November,] the day before your letter was put into my hands. In order that you may be the better assured that there

* Strype just notices this letter, and gives its first five lines. Cranmer, I., pp. 358, 359.

is no distance between your and my opinion, you can read the copy of my letter, which I inclose: I send back also, as you desired, that which you wrote[b] to à Lasco, and also that which you received from him.

Respecting the Question on which you seek my opinion,—"*How long was a general, confused, and implied*[c] *faith sufficient for the salvation of men?*"—I acknowledge that I find nothing distinct, either in the Scriptures or in the Fathers. But I think the same judgment ought to be formed on that subject, which we see formed concerning the old law, as regards those ceremonies which the Holy Scriptures[d] have only declared ought to be abolished after the coming of Christ, but have not determined that that should be done immediately. However, the Apostles, who had the mind and intention of Christ, continued to observe these until the Gospel of Christ was generally promulgated. It seems not unreasonable to adopt a similar decision concerning that *implied faith* which might have been sufficient for the salvation of men so long as the Gospel was not publicly preached.

I perceive, indeed, that speculative[e] persons may cavil; [for they may argue,] that, according to this, those may obtain salvation who, even in our time, are altogether ignorant of the Gospel; provided in any way whatsoever they believe in some Redeemer or Saviour of the human race, sent or to be sent from God.

[b] This, without doubt, is the letter (undated) of which an old English translation is printed by Strype (Memor., II., ii., 444-455), and which had been previously printed, in 1566, in "The Resolution of D. Martin Bucer and D. Peter Martyr on thapparel of Ministers, and other indifferent things." It is clear that it must have been written towards the end of October, 1550. The original Latin is still preserved among the MSS. of Bishop John More, Public Library, Cambridge, Mm. 4.14. Article 3.—A Lasco wrote a very prolix and tedious Letter to Cranmer, as well as to Bucer, on this subject; which he commenced with a petition for leave for the congregation of the Church of the Foreigners in Austin Friars to *sit* at the Lord's Supper: this letter (undated) is printed by Gabbema, Cent. iii., Epist. 3, pp. 500-517; and is reprinted by Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, II., ii., 665-670: though the name neither of the writer, nor of the person to whom it is addressed, is given, there can be no doubt on the matter.

[c] "Implicitam." I have translated this word "implied," (rather than "implicit" which more exactly corresponds with the Latin), for the reason stated above, p. 170, note (p).

[d] "Divinæ Literæ."

[e] "Curiosos."

But this does not occasion me any difficulty: for I observe that there is no passage in the Word of God, which warrants us to promise salvation to men of this sort; hence we leave them to the mercy and righteousness of God. Aye, rather, since scarcely any [of that description] are found who are not in bondage to the idolatrous and superstitious multitude,[f] we believe that they are under condemnation. No religion is neutral, or middle:[g] it is either sound and whole, or it is superstitious; and such as *it* is, such is the life which usually follows. If anyone inquire,—Why we allow that Cornelius and the old Fathers were saved by this their *implied faith?*—we must always reply, that we are led to this acknowledgment by the Scriptures, which testify that they pleased God, and that their [works[h]] were accepted by Him, which cannot be given[i] to men except through Christ. If, however, any persons can be found in the present day, who believe in Christ by an *implied faith;* and [yet] who have heard nothing of His advent, who [keep[k]] themselves from impiety and superstition, and who strive to live purely (—though I think it would be exceedingly difficult to find such—) I think we ought not to abandon hope that the Divine compassion will be extended to such:—still I dare not, as I have said, [absolutely] promise them salvation.

Now, I must request you not to withhold from me anything on this matter which may suggest itself to you as more certain; on my part I will communicate to you anything which may occur to me in reading the Fathers.

Possibly Master à Lasco may have signified to you, as he has to me, his earnest desire that some Confession on the Sacramentarian Question should be drawn up and set forth, in such a way that you, Bernardine, he, and myself might consent to it. I answered, that I did not disapprove his design; and I advised him to talk the matter over with you. I took this course, because I feel assured that, if both of you should subscribe to the same opinion, it would be easy for me also to accede to it.

[f] "Legioni."

[g] "Media;" alluding to the "middle state" contended for by Young and his party: see above, p. 168, note ([h]).

[h] This word is wanting in the MS., which is torn at this place.

[i] "Donari."

[k] This word is supplied conjecturally, not being legible in the MS.

Now, if this intimation has not been made from himself, you have from me what is in his mind.

I sent my Julius yesterday to London, because Bergman—he of Cologne—repeatedly and strongly urges me to send him my Book, to be printed in Germany; I mean, my Commentary on the first Epistle to the Corinthians.[l] He will talk with him, and possibly give it to him. Raner Volph,[m] of London, excused himself, as not able to print a Book of this kind at the present time. But the other voluntarily asks and presses me: I know not, however, with what faith he will fulfil what he promises.

My wife and myself wish you and all yours to prosper in the Lord.

Oxford, November 11, 1550.

Yours in Christ,

PETER MARTYR.

Sidall[n] and Curtop[o] desire me, in their name, to salute you much.

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[l] It was published in January, 1552. Original Letters, Parker Society, 504.

[m] Reynold, or Reginald, Wolff.

[n] Henry Sidall was Canon of Christchurch; a vigorous defender of the truth in King Edward's days; recanted in Mary's reign; and conformed in Queen Elizabeth's. He became Rector of Walthamstowe. There is a letter from him to Bullinger, Oct. 4, 1552, in Orig. Letters, 311. He was commissioned to watch Martyr, November, 1553; and was one of the witnesses of Cranmer's recantation.

[o] James Curtop was a Canon of Christchurch, and was a hearer and friend of Martyr. He recanted on Mary's accession, and was a witness against Cranmer in 1555. He disputed against Ridley; and was one of the Commissioners to examine Philpot.

LV.

BUCER TO HOOPER, BISHOP ELECT OF GLOUCESTER.

CAMBRIDGE, about the middle of *November*, 1550.

[A cotemporary copy of the original Latin, in MSS., Public Library, Cambridge, Mm. 4.14, Art. 4, from the Collection of John More, Bishop of Ely; it is printed in Buceri Scripta Angl., p. 705, fol., Basil., 1577.—An English translation was put forth in 1566, in "The Resolution of D. Martin Bucer and D. Peter Martyr, concerning thapparel of Ministers, and other indifferent things," p. 119: reprinted in Strype's Memorials, II., ii., 456.]

New Translation.[p]

REVEREND SIR,—Grace and peace from the Lord. I have read your letter and papers on the Vestments carefully. This controversy afflicts me exceedingly, since it places such an impediment in the way of the ministry of yourself and others. What would I not have given to prevent its outbreak, or to repress and extinguish it instantly. It is by these hindrances that Satan puts off his being fully cast out from the people of God.

I think you cannot doubt, excellent Sir, that I should greatly rejoice if all external matters could be recalled to Apostolic truth and simplicity, and if both external and internal things could be brought to such a complete and effiacious standard of religion as might illustrate the glory of God: for wherever the Churches have listened to my advice,—as at Strasburgh, Ulm, Augsburg, Cassel, and elsewhere,—I have taken care that no peculiar Vestment should be used in the administration of the Sacraments. But when I observe that, in England, an abuse of these Vestments prevails, alas, in many places, up to this moment, most willingly would I suffer much in my own person if I could bring about their salutary abolition;—accompanied, however, by the abrogation of, not only the marks and signs, but the nerves and joints of Antichristianism, which to this day are to be found horridly spread over every part of England.

[p] Although Strype has printed the old English translation of this letter, I have yet thought it advisable to give a new translation, in modern phraseology, and more closely conformable with the original Latin.—G.

For, sacrilegious persons occupy and despoil the principal Parishes (often one, four, six, or more,); and it is reported that there are not a few who bestow two or three benefices[a] on their Stewards and Huntsmen, on the understanding that they themselves shall retain a good share of the Ecclesiastical revenues; and they give the care of Parishes to Vicars, not such as they know to be best fitted for this office, but such as they can hire on the best terms. Both the Universities, from which fit ministers of Churches ought to be taken, are miserably oppressed by not a few Papists or Epicureans. Hence there is such a paucity of Evangelists, that you may find very many Churches where no sound sermon has been heard for five, six, or more years. All the Divine offices are recited by many Pseudo-Parish-Priests, or Vicars, so frigidly, slovenly, and mumblingly,[b] that they are understood by the common people just as well as if they had been read in an African[c] or Indian dialect. Baptisms are performed in the presence of only a very few girls,[d] generally at play. While a blessing is being asked on the marriage vow, there is gossiping and playing. In many places the Lord's Supper so takes the place of the Mass, that the people do not know in what respect it differs from it, except that it is celebrated in the vulgar tongue. There is no just care of Christ's sheep. The ignorant are not instructed in the Catechism. No effectual admonition, either private or public, is given to those who are negligent in their office, or disgrace it. Be it, that those who sin grossly are bound to penance, and are absolved when penance has been performed, and that those who despise the Church are considered as Heathen,—where shall we find one, or another, who acknowledges [such discipline] to have been enjoined by the Lord? Those who have not made a confession of their faith to the Church, either by words or by deeds, are admitted to all [the privileges] of Christ: they come into the Lord's presence with empty hands: in the holy assembly there is no just care for the poor: the Church has no goods: the houses of God are open for impious gossipings[e] and bargainings. Even during the service, many trifle, or conduct their profane matters of business. That Vestiarian law of the Holy

[a] "Sacerdotia."
[b] "Obscurè."
[c] "Punica."
[d] "Mulierculis."
[e] "Fabulis."

Spirit, expounded by Paul and Peter,—that our women (much more our men) should be adorned with shame-facedness and modesty, not with plaiting of the hair, with gold, or with pearls, —is not even observed in our Temples, where both the Gospel of the Crucified One is heard and His Communion is participated!

Thus, in truth, when Ecclesiastical discipline is silent, (—aye, when it is generally unknown, what is the Church, what the Communion of saints, what the kingdom of Christ,—) it follows of necessity that all fear of God withers away[f] from the hearts of men. To this we may trace so many complaints of perjuries, adulteries, thefts, lies, various and impudent frauds, and monstrous usuries.

We know, venerable Sir, that these evils, which I have just mentioned, are the primary members of Antichrist,—are his flesh, and his nerves, of which he entirely consists. If we would but fight against these evils, with united forces, agreeing among ourselves, by a determined attack, and combating under the influence of the Holy Spirit,—then the abuse of Vestments and of all other things would easily be abolished, and all the marks and shadows of Antichrist would vanish. But if, in the very first place, these principal members of Antichrist, his substance and his very body, be not cut off altogether, and Christ's kingdom be not unreservedly received, pure doctrine and vigilant discipline of Christ being restored by faithful and suitable ministers of Christ,—we shall labour in vain in our endeavours to dissipate the marks and shadows of Antichrist.

My desire, therefore, excellent Sir, is, that after the example of Christ and His Apostles, we should endeavour, in the first instance, as far as possible, that faithful and suitable pastors of the Lord's flock be provided for every parish without delay, all sacrilegious persons being removed; and that, the people being instructed in Christ, the whole communion and discipline of Christ may be restored, as it is described in Matthew xviii., John xx., Acts ii., iv., v., xx., Romans xii., 1 Corinthians xii., Ephesians iv., 1 Timothy v., and in similar places.

I could wish also that no rite should either be retained or newly instituted, unless the healthier part of the Church should be of opinion that it conduces to holy and worthy comeliness and

[f] "Exolescat."

order among those who glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the true edification of the Church of God. If any Churches would listen to me, certainly they would retain none of those Vestments which were used by Papists in their services: but they would thus act for the following reasons; that they might so more fully confess and demonstrate that they had renounced altogether communion with the Roman Antichrist; that they fully acknowledged liberty in external things; and that they had determined that those things should above all be restored in which the discipline of Christ consists, and which are divinely enjoined. For these reasons, and in order that no ground for contention, among the weaker brethren, about these and such like things should remain, and on the understanding that all things which are essential to the discipline and communion of Christ should be received; I could wish that those Vestments, which are now the occasion of controversy, should be utterly discontinued.

However, to affirm that these Vestments abused by Antichrist, have become so contaminated, that they can be suffered in no Church, even though she knows her Christ and prizes her liberty in all things, is a proposition which I scruple to adopt; for I find no warrant in Scripture for such a condemnation of any good creature of God. For Scripture everywhere declares, that every creature of God is good to the good, that is to them that truly believe in Christ and piously use the creatures;—good, not only in those effects which we call natural, as bread is good in its effects of feeding and strengthening the body, and wine in its effects of drinking, and warming; but also in its various significations and suggestions. For pious men are excited and supported, through the recollection and consideration of many Divine benefits, by means of various creatures of God. Hence those passages in the Psalms, and in the Songs of holy men, concerning the praise and celebration of God, to which they invite all the works of God. To be an Aaronical or an Antichristian rite, is [essentially] inherent in no creature of God, in no Vestment, in no figure, in no colour, in no work of God; but is merely in the mind and the profession of those who abuse His good creatures by attaching to them impious allusions.

What Scripture is there which teaches, that power has been given, to the devil, or to bad men, to render bad or impious in

itself, through their abuse, any good creature of God,—good even in signification and suggestion? On which account nothing can fairly be said to belong [exclusively] to the Aaronical priesthood, as far as it is abolished, (not even the sacred ministry of the Church is that thing, though we are instructed that it is abolished as respects what was enjoined [as peculiar to] the Aaronical priesthood,) except it be converted to a superstitious use, as if it were necessary to salvation even since the revelation of Christ; or except it become an occasion of introducing or retaining this superstition; or of disturbing the agreement of the brethren. Neither can any thing be called a rite of Antichrist, unless it be a thing by which the profession and communication of Antichrist is exhibited, or except it subserve to such profession and communication.

Moreover, who can deny that the Lord [has given liberty[s]] to many of his elect, to adopt for themselves from all things (besides their natural use) significations and suggestions both of the benefits of God and of their own duties; not of any evil matter; while they so utterly detest all things which are foreign from Christ, that no possible occasion is afforded to others, in any matter, however it may have been abused, of superstition, or of communication with darkness, or of the disturbance of brotherly love? Now if such true Christians (and there would doubtless be many such everywhere, if not only the pure doctrine of Christ, but his entire communion and discipline flourished,) were to decide that any thing should be done in order to commend the sacred ministry to plain men and to children,—[for instance] that ministers should use some particular vestment when discharging their office, aye, even a vestment which the Papists had abused,—why ought I not to leave Christians of this sort to [follow] their own judgment? In truth I see no passage of Scripture which teaches me [that *I ought not*]. But that *I ought*, is clearly taught, beyond a doubt, in Romans xiv., in 1 Corinthians viii. and ix., and in many other places; wherever, indeed, we are instructed in our liberty and good use of the creatures, which administer food or serve any other purpose.

It is evident that our Lord Jesus Christ, as regards the ministry, and the word, and the Sacraments, has prescribed to

[s] These words are essential to complete the sense; the sentence having been left manifestly corrupt, in the printed copy at least.

us, in His own words, only the substance; and has left His Church at liberty to order every thing else which appertains to the decent and useful administration of His mysteries. Hence we celebrate the Sacred Supper, neither in the evening, nor in a private house, nor recumbent, nor among men only. [[h] Who would condemn the Church of impiety, if, by the pure and holy consent of her members, she had the custom that all who partake of the Sacred Supper should do so in a white garment; as did formerly the recently baptized.] Some reckon among the things which are left to the free ordering of the Churches, to celebrate the Lord's Supper only once, twice, thrice, four times, or oftener, in the year; and to stand, [as a spectator merely,] at the Supper, without participating of the Sacraments. And yet it is evident that each of these [customs] is truly Papistical. For it is clear that the Apostles, and the Apostolical Churches, agreeably to the Lord's institution, celebrated the Sacred Supper every Lord's Day, and whenever they had a very full assembly of the Brethren; and, also, that all present partook, according to the word of the Lord, "Drink ye all of It;" from which it is sufficiently understood that it was His will that all should eat, also, of the Bread offered. Now in every sacred assembly of the brethren we ought to celebrate the remembrance of the Lord; for the Lord Himself instituted His Supper for this end, and we are taught that it was so observed by the Apostles, in Acts iv., and 1 Corinthians xi. Those two things, then,—the celebration of the Lord's Supper so rarely,—and the partaking of it by so few,—I judge to be in themselves Papistical: for they are in direct opposition to the Word of God. But those other matters,—the place,—the time,—the posture of body, in the celebration or participation of the Sacred Supper,—the admitting women to communion,—the method of conducting prayers and hymns to God,—the Vestment, and other things appertaining to outward decorum, have been left by the Lord with full power to his Church of determining and ordering on these matters what each Church may judge to be most conducive to sustain and increase among their people reverence for all the sacred things of the Lord.

If, therefore, out of this liberty of Christ, and with a view to edify the people of Christ, any Churches desire that their ministers should use any particular Vestments in their sacred

[h] This sentence is not in Strype:—but it occurs again, p. 206, l. 5.

offices, without any superstition, any levity, or any dissension, that is abuse, among the brethren, assuredly I do not see who could with reason condemn such Churches in this matter as sinful, much less charge them with Antichristian compliance. And what if any Church, by the pure and holy consent of her members, had the custom that all who partake of the Sacred Supper should do so in a white garment, as did formerly the recently baptized? If anyone should contend that that liberty is to be allowed to no Church of Christ, he ought surely to admit one or other of the following things:—Either [he must admit] that nothing whatever can be conceded to the Churches as to ordering matters about the Sacred Supper, concerning which they cannot allege an express command of Christ: which would be to condemn all the Churches of impious audacity; for all observe a time, and place, and posture[k] of the body, in the celebration of the Sacred Supper, and admit women to it, in all which things they not only have no express command of Christ, but even a contrary example; for the Lord celebrated His Supper in the evening, not in the morning; in a private house, not in a public [edifice]; reclining with His [disciples], not standing while He took the Paschal Supper; and exhibiting this single communion of Himself; no women being admitted, although He had some most holy ones among His disciples.—Or [he must admit], that it is impossible that there should be any Churches which the Lord has rendered so far free from all suspicion and abuse of his good creatures, that all the good creatures of God are also, in the use of signification, pure to them, [being themselves] pure through faith in His name; but he who says this, will certainly deny, at the same time, that Christ is to all men that Lord whom He has promised that He will be to all, [namely], their liberator from all uncleanness.—Or [he must admit], that the impious, by their abuse, so vitiate the good creatures of God, they cannot subserve a pious use to any pious man; which is openly opposed to the testimony of the Holy Spirit, Romans xiv., 1 Cor. viii., and ix., 1 Timothy iv.—Or [they must admit, lastly], that it is not allowable for Christians to dispose any things whatsoever, in such a way as may bring to mind their and our Creator, and may admonish us of His benefits to us and of our duties to Him; a position which

[k] "Habitum."

militates against all that the Spirit teaches about acknowledging and worshipping God in all His works, and doing everything in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to the glory of the Father.

All these abstractions are to be shunned by pious minds; nor are we to fear the evil [consequences] which some are in the habit of objecting—[namely]: if so much liberty is to be conceded to the Churches, that they may adapt any sort of things to pious significations and suggestions, then there will not be wanting those who will bring, into our sacred [offices], all the rites of Aaron, or of the Roman Antichrist, or of the Gentiles. For, the Churches which I have described, to which I think that liberty of which I treat cannot be denied, will so temper whatever rites or Vestments they may appropriate to their use, that they shall tend to illustrate, not to obscure, the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: as, among true Christians, will be the case with all external rites which the Lord has not commanded by express injunctions.

The proximate end is, the commendation and adornment of the Evangelical ministry, through which all manner of superstition and abuse is put to flight. Whether we will or no, we must allow that differences in the costume of those who bear civil offices, in well-organized society, has a remarkable effect in producing reverence for the magistracy. Why should not the same result follow in the ministry of religion? It is true that every pious affection of the mind necessarily proceeds from the Holy Spirit, and must be sustained by the Word of God; nevertheless, there is no creature [which may not co-operate[l]] with this Spirit and this Word of God, among the pious, by being applied according to some pious signification and suggestion, especially through a public recognition. God has formed, and preserves, and exhibits all His works (if used for this end) for a good and varied purpose, as regards good men. Let us weigh well what the Holy Spirit teaches, in 1 Corinthians xi., concerning the signification of the veil being on the woman, and of the head of the man being without a covering. For why does He make an express reference to the lucid garments of the angels[m]? for He does nothing in vain; and He declares by all things the salvation

[l] The Latin is apparently defective, and requires some words like these to complete the construction.

[m] "Of Aaron"—in Strype; clearly by error.

of His people, which is established in the faith of the Gospel. But I have written more fully on these points to Master John à Lasco.

God knows how I wish that your desires should be promoted[n] for the restitution of the kingdom of Christ; and because I see that the abuse of those Vestments still prevails, I would give much to have them abolished; but I do not see that Scripture anywhere permits us to say, that it is profane, in itself, to make any sort of use of them. As to all those passages of Scripture which you have adduced against the traditions of man, you well know that they are all only to be understood of those things in which men desire to establish a worship of God from their own [fancies], making of no account the commandments of God. Even you yourself prefer to take food with washed rather than unwashed hands. Whatever in these weak and beggarly elements belongs to a superstition, which maintained that, in themselves, they were necessary or useful to salvation, even since Christ has been revealed;—whatever in these Vestments attaches not to the Vestments, but to the impurity of those minds which abuse them;—as far as possible I so cleanse by the Word and by the Spirit of God, that all may be pure with regard to them, yes, even those things which Antichrists have most fully contaminated.

If these [observations], venerable man, shall satisfy your charity, I shall rejoice in the Lord; if otherwise, I intreat you to point out to me briefly those passages of Scripture in which I may see that this my opinion on liberty in those matters is inconsistent with the Word of God. I pray God, that He may so modify or overrule this controversy, that it may not hinder the necessary cleansing of the temple of God, nor in any way distract the minds or ministries of those whom He has to so great an extent associated and united in Himself for advancing the salvation of His people.

I trust that your wife, and that the whole of that holy choir of brethren which is with you, is prospering greatly in all things: I commend myself to the prayers of you all.

Forgive me for having so long delayed writing, and sending back your papers to you; and attribute it [partly] to

[n] There is a "sed" here in the Latin which seems to obscure the sense, and is therefore omitted in this translation.

those urgent occupations on behalf of the kingdom of Christ which at the present time have so fully engaged me; and partly to the fact that I have been unable to find trustworthy persons for conveying them to you.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be increased to you, and to all of us, perpetually. Amen.

[Cambridge, November? 1550.]

[MARTIN BUCER.]

LVI.

BUCER TO "A CERTAIN FRIEND" (DR. MATTHEW PARKER?).[a]

[CAMBRIDGE, end of *November* or early in *December*, 1550.]

[Cotemporary copy, Latin, MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 113, f. 41.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

I DO not see any passage of Scripture, which plainly enjoins and distinctly commands THE DEMOLITION OF ALTARS; [except it be implied in[b]] that precept of the Holy Spirit, 1 Corinthians xiv. [40], by which we are enjoined, in Holy Assemblies, to establish and to do all things "decently," "in order," and for the edification of faith. For every creature of God is in itself good and

[a] From the concluding paragraph, it may be conjectured that it was addressed to some Friend near at hand, probably residing in the same place in which Bucer wrote it. I conjecture this to have been Dr. Matthew Parker, the Master of Corpus Christi College; who, on the 7th December, 1550, preached a sermon in Trinity Church, Cambridge, on the *demolition of Altars*, previously to the Royal Mandate to that effect being read by the Commissary of the Bishop of Ely. See No. LVII., p. 213, in the present work. Or possibly it may have been addressed to Bishop Ridley, then Master of Pembroke, who, at the end of November of this year, drew up six "*Reasons why the Lord's Board should rather be after the form of a Table than an Altar*," which, in some points, strongly resemble these suggestions of Bucer. See them printed in Foxe, vi., p. 5 (with some additions by the modern editor, Appendix, pp. 712, 713), from Ridley's Register, f. 287, verso.

[b] The copy seems defective here, and is therefore conjecturally emended in my translation, to complete the sense.

holy to good and holy men, believing in Christ; although the impious may have abused them by their impiety. We must consider, always and in all things, what may become ourselves, and what may promote and illustrate the glory of God in procuring the salvation of men.

1. Those things become ourselves as professors of Christ which are the most agreeable to the words and to the examples of the Lord, and also seem most conducive to the setting forth His benefits for the salvation of men. Now, to use a Table rather than an Altar in the Holy Supper, agrees best with the word and the example of the Lord. By His Word He has enjoined us to do what He did; and by His example He has commended a Table, not an Altar. Moreover, the Lord has marked this difference between the old and the new Sacraments of the same Communion of Himself and of His merit:—that, in the old Sacraments, He would represent the *Slaying*[c], rather than the Fruition, of Himself;—in the new, rather the *Fruition* than the Slaying: although He represented each thing by signs appropriate to each; for the offerers partook of a *few* [only] of the ancient sacrifices, but *all* the victims were slain. In the new symbols nothing of *slaying* is represented, (although it is commended in words,) but *fruition* alone is expressed: for the Lord says, "Eat," and "Drink," setting before them bread and wine, meat and drink; but He adds in words, "which is given" and "shed for you," for the slaying was then about to be performed, and is now perfected. Therefore it becomes us to use a Table, which serves for eating and drinking;—not an Altar, which was established for slaying.

2. It does not become us to borrow anything from the Aaronical Priesthood and Signs, except it conduces to grace[d] our ministration. Such is a Table, ready for fruition; an Altar is not such, being appropriate only for slaying.

3. Moreover: it becomes us to shew our detestation of everything belonging to Antichrist, in all possible ways, both by words and by signs; but especially with regard to that extreme and very hurtful abomination of the Mass, by which, not only is

[c] "Mactatio." [d] "Ornandum."

the whole design of the Sacred Supper overthrown, but all benefit of the death of Christ is taken away from mankind. Hence it becomes us to demolish Altars; since by this kind of furniture the supporters of Antichrist have commended their Mass to the people as a fresh sacrifice of Christ.

4. Again: we ought to remove from Holy Assemblies all those things of which we cannot render a reasonable account as conducing in any way to the edification of faith. No such reasonable account can be given respecting Altars; while it is manifest that they tend to destroy faith. Therefore[e] . . . .

5. Further: in Holy Assemblies all things should be done in order. But it belongs to order, that the Minister should administer the Holy Communion in a place from which all his words may be conveniently heard and be well understood by all the people. (1 Cor. xiv.) For that purpose a Table is more convenient than an Altar.

6. Lastly: the edification of faith is to be sought in all things which are exhibited in Holy Assemblies. Now, it is sufficiently manifest, from what has been said, that the use of a Table conduces to the edification of faith; but that an Altar conduces to the contrary. For that conduces to the edification of faith, which is agreeable to the word and examples of the Lord, and to our profession in forwarding the salvation of men; whether it be in the manifesting a detestation of Antichrist, or in the due ministration of public prayer and of readings:[f]—this is the case with Tables. Whatever has a different aspect, tends to injure faith:—this is the case with Altars.

We are taught the same, by the precepts of God to His ancient people: Exodus xxiii. [24?]; Deuteronomy vii.; and in many other places. Also by the examples of those pious leaders,[g] Joshua, Gideon, Asa, Hezekiah, Josiah, the Maccabees, &c.

Many other reasons might be adduced, as you know better than myself; but those I have suggested contain, in my judgment, the demonstration of this matter.

[e] The conclusion is left incomplete. [f] "Lectionum." [g] "Principes."

May God grant, however, that, not only the instruments of impiety, but the very impieties themselves of Antichrist, with their abetters and defenders, may be abolished: — impure doctrine;—the profane administration of the Sacraments;—the superstition of festivals and ceremonies foreign[h] [to the Gospel]; —and the promoters of these abominations,—sacrilegious men, despoilers and destroyers of Parochial property: so that the whole, pure doctrine of Christ, and firm discipline, may be restored; and that Parishes may be furnished with faithful Ministers, having sufficient maintenance for themselves, for schools, and for the poor. For Satan is always striving to bring it about, that, if we will indeed be altogether busy in religion, we should garnish cups and cleanse what is external, while we swallow camels and disguise internal pollutions. I thank God, however, that even the instruments of impiety are abolished, and this matter ought very diligently to be inculcated among the people: much more, however, both in Sermons, and whenever it can be profitably done, ought we to urge on their attention those things which are not only of *still greater* importance, but are *so* necessary to salvation that, without them, even these other things[i] are an abomination to God.

We feel alike on these matters. Supplicate, entreat, the Lord to give success. I now wish you and all yours a very good night, many years, and at length a blessed eternity!

Entirely yours,

MARTIN BUCER.

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[h] "Peregrinorum festorum et cæremoniarum."

[i] That is,—even outward Reformations.

LVII.

SUPPRESSION OF STONE AND OTHER ALTARS, AT CAMBRIDGE, &c., DECEMBER 7, 1550.

[Latin: Ely Episcopal Registers, Goodriche, f. 18.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

SUPPRESSION OF ALTARS IN ALL THE CHURCHES IN THE DEANERIES OF CAMBRIDGE, CHESTERTON, BARTON, SHENGEY, BOURNE, AND CAMPES, IN THE DIOCESE OF ELY.

MEMORANDUM: that, on Saturday, December 7, 1550, 4 Edward VI., in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Cambridge, all Rectors, Vicars, and Curates, as well as all Stewards[k] or Wardens of Parish Churches within the Deaneries of Cambridge, Chesterton, Barton, Shengey, Bourne, and Campes, appearing, those only excepted who were contumaciously absent, a Sermon having first been preached and the Word of God publicly expounded in the Mother Tongue by the venerable man Mr. Matthew Parker, D.D.; the prudent and discreet man Mr. Edward Leedys [Leeds], M.A., Commissary of the Lord Bishop in this behalf, in the aforesaid Church of the Holy Trinity, Cambridge, sitting judicially by the authority and force of Royal Letters[l] directed to the said Bishop, enjoined and commanded, that the said Rectors, Vicars, and Wardens, should, before the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord next ensuing, thoroughly and utterly[m] destroy and overthrow all Altars and Super-Altars, erected in former times and made and constructed of stones or in any other manner, whether in their Churches, or in Chapels, Oratories, or other places within the bounds of their parishes; and should devoutly and solemnly set up and put in the room thereof one honest and decent Table or Board[n] for

[k] "Iconomis"—qu. for "Œconomis."

[l] A copy of them, dated November 23, 4 Edw. VI., directed to Bishop Ridley, is printed in Foxe, Martyrs, vi. 5, edit. London, 1846; also in Heylin Hist. Reform., p. 96; and in Cardwell's Documentary Annals, i., p. 100.

[m] "Funditus et penitus."

[n] "Tabulam vel Mensam congruam et decentem."

administering the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ there in each Parish Church, before the aforesaid Feast, on pain of the Royal indignation, and of the danger to be incurred in that behalf.

[A similar injunction was given in the Church of Melbourn, on the 10th of December, to all Rectors, &c., &c., in the Deaneries of Bourne, and Shengey.]

[A similar injunction was given in the Church of Lynton, on the 11th of December, to all Rectors, &c., &c., in the Deanery of Campes.]

LVIII.

BUCER TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.[o]

CAMBRIDGE, *December* 8, 1550.

[Latin: printed in Buceri Scripta Anglicana, p. 681, fol. Basil., 1577. English Translation: printed in the Resolutions of D. Martin Bucer, and D. Peter Martyr, concernyng thapparrel of Ministers, and other indifferent things; London, small 8vo., Jugge (1566), p. 49.]

New Translation.

MOST Reverend Father: your letter[p] came into my hands yesterday evening, and I immediately began to consider my reply, mindful of my duty to your Most Reverend Fathership, especially in a matter

[o] Strype (Cranmer, I. 304) just states that Bucer wrote this letter in reply to Cranmer; but does not print it.—Bishop Ridley drew up, at the close of 1550, a Reply to Hooper's objections to the use of the Vestments, for the use of the Council, the MS. of which is in possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., at Middlehill: this was printed for the first time by the Rev. Aubrey Townsend, in the Writings of Bradford, pp. 375—395, edit. Parker Society, 1853.—John à Lasco once more returned to the question, in a paper replying to the arguments of P. Martyr, in the autumn of the following year: it is dated "anno 5 regni Edv. VI. Sept. 6°" (1551), and is preserved among Bishop More's MSS., Public Library, Cambridge, Mm. 4, 14, Article 1, constituting five folio pages. —On the 13th January, 1551, Hooper was committed to the custody of the Archbishop, and on the 27th was sent to the Fleet; on the 15th of February, he addressed a letter of submission to the Archbishop, the original Latin of which is given by Mr. Nevinson, Hooper's Works, Vol. II., p. xv., edit. Parker Society, 1852; and an English Translation in the present work, No. LXV., p. 233: he was consequently set at liberty, and consecrated on the 8th of March.

[p] The Archbishop's letter to Bucer, dated at Lambeth, Dec. 2, is printed in Cranmer's Works, Parker Soc. edit., II., 428 (1846).

closely connected with my ministry. I immediately also commenced an inquiry after a trusty messenger, who may convey this my letter to your M. R. F., to whom I will commit it as soon as I have found such an one.

You request, M. R. F., that I would send you my judgment, in the fewest words possible, on those Questions which you have transmitted to me in writing. With great reluctance, I confess, I bring forward my opinion on particular Questions touching the reformation of religion; especially on Questions which involve serious controversies among pious men. For, both the Divine Scriptures and daily experience teach us, that Satan omits no opportunities of involving in bitter contentions, on the doctrine and discipline of Christ, those whom he sees burning with any desire of receiving and restoring the kingdom of Christ; for, by such an artifice, if he cannot altogether frustrate, he delays their holy endeavours to establish with all their might the Churches on a solid foundation.

God requires, that we serve Him with our whole heart, and soul, and strength, and that we once for all put on the whole profitable yoke [q] of His Son; hence He urges the reluctant minds of men by the terror of His judgment, (where he has sent so much of the light of His truth as this day shines upon us,) so that they cannot avowedly withdraw themselves from His commands, or altogether cast away the yoke of His Son. When Satan knows this (—and he is not ignorant that, from our depraved origin, we would be as Gods, and regulate all our religion according to our own desires—) he strives to persuade men to adopt a certain Medium, as he cannot reduce it to Nothing; [namely] to repudiate, and yet to do, certain things in token of their gratitude to the one and true God; but which neither does He account grateful in themselves,[qq] nor do they feel to oppose much their desires. Now, the whole of the Divine worship, and all our salvation, consists in those things; and, unless our whole body, the spring of sin and perdition, be crucified, in those things,—men make themselves as Gods in dividing and modifying God's commands. By this delusion that crafty [r] one has plunged Germany into her present calamities.

[q] "Jugum τὸ χρηστὸν." [qq] The whole sentence is obscure.
[r] "Veterator ille."

May God avert, may our only Saviour Jesus Christ avert, his attempt to spread the same delusion over England also!

But I come, as I am bound, to your Questions, which are these:—

1. "*Whether, without the offence of God, it may be lawful to the ministers of the Church of England to use those Vestments which at these days are worn, and are prescribed of the magistrate?*"

2. "*Whether he that shall affirm that it is unlawful, or shall refuse to wear these Vestments, offends against God; inasmuch as he says, that that is unclean which God has sanctified; and* [*offends*] *against the magistrate, inasmuch as he violates political order?*"

1. On the first Question, this is my opinion, which I think I have learned from the Divine Scriptures.

Firstly: I have no care that my answers should be intelligible to any ministers of the Churches of England, except to those who are true, faithful dispensers of the mysteries of God; and who are earnestly desirous of delivering to their people the whole Gospel of Christ, all His doctrine and discipline, with the greatest faithfulness; and to instil and fix these things in their minds. I think that such ministers of the English Churches, may with the grace of God use those Vestments which are prescribed at this day. I consider that they will thus act [judiciously], if,—together with their clearest preaching of Christ the Saviour, and their detection and detestation of Antichrist, whether Roman or of any other kind,—they well instruct the people, in using these Vestments, as follows. That they by no means wish to confirm those impious notions which the Roman Antichrists have thrust on the people; or that Priests are in themselves more holy and more efficacious in propitiating God; or that in the Sacred Communion they cause Christ to stand by the Father[s] as they now talk; and that they apply His merit to each by their own work and discretion, beyond that which each receives by his own[t] faith from the words and from the Sacraments of God; or that Aaronical [rites] are to be resumed by us. But that they thereby simply yield obedience to the King's Majesty, and those whom God wills should have the power of ordering external rites for the

[s] "Patri sistant." [t] "Propriâ fide."

Churches (always consistently with the Word of God); and that they [desire to] avoid giving even little offence by disturbing order and public consent; and to testify to the pious that every creature of God is good even in signification; and, lastly, that all true believers in Christ are able piously to use those things which others through their impiety have in any respect abused.

I do not conceive that either the King's Majesty, or the Great Council of the kingdom, desired to retain or cherish anything superstitious by the use of these Vestments. For, truly, before [the existence of] that Roman Antichrist the Pope, the use of these Vestments was piously entertained by the holiest Fathers, and may at the present time serve in some degree to commend the sacred ministry and the whole of Christianity to younger and uneducated persons; provided their pious signification be declared, and the people be taught that, by the abolition of these Vestments, the weak in the faith might find occasion for slighting or despising the true ministry of Christ, or even for suspecting that they delighted with irreligious levity to subvert and abolish everything in religious services which had been previously used, even though the use might be good. It is, therefore, the duty of the people, at the sight of these Vestments, to think simply of celestial purity and spotlessness; and of the ornament of virtues, which is commended and exhibited to all believers through the sacred ministry of the Church: so that they may pray for that spotlessness and ornament, both for themselves and their ministers; and may strive with all earnestness to obtain it; in order that all at length may shine in the garments of righteousness and salvation. [They should consider] also, that ministers must be clothed in *some* Vestments; and that [it is most befitting] it should be in such as may not merely cover and cherish their bodies, but may have some signification and suggestion. Since it has now seemed good to the King's Majesty, and to the Chief Council of the kingdom, that the use of these Vestments should still be retained, they ought to change the abuse of the Papists for a pious use of these good creatures of God, to the glory of God and the honour of the King's Majesty; and to declare distinctly that to the holy and the pure all things are holy and pure, and are verily sanctified by the Word of God and by prayer; that neither demons nor men can so contaminate any creature of God, as

that the pious cannot use it piously and to the glory of God, even by the use of signification not merely by the enjoyment of natural effects. All creatures, besides the exhibition of the Divine benignity through their natural effects, ought to admonish us in many ways of their and of our Creator and of our gratitude to Him; to the purpose of which admonition, they can and ought to be publicly applied.

The passages of Scripture, from which I believe I have learned this opinion, have already been all but indicated; for they are such as teach that every creature of God is good, even by signification and suggestion; that the abuse of the impious, cannot attach to the pious, in any creature of God; that Christ the Lord has left to His people the free use of these things; that those whom the Lord has owned are to be esteemed, and not to [be subjected to] a judgment of the thoughts; that we ought always so to temper the use of such things, that they may promote some decorous order and the edification of faith; (see Romans xiv., 1 Corinthians viii., ix., x., xiv., 1 Timothy iv.) —such [an order] as the examples of the Apostles hold out to us, who so long used, without impiety, the Mosaic ceremonies.

II. My opinion on the other Question, derived, I think, from the Divine Scriptures, is this:—*that those who say that it is unlawful to use the Vestments in question, in any way, even in that which I have described—err, since they thereby deny that to the holy all things are holy.* I affirm the same of those who decline on the same account to use those Vestments; since the use of them, in no superstitious or light way, by the public determination of the kingdom, and by the consent of the Churches, is brought into suspicion. For the use of these Vestments may be obtruded with a superstitious intent, either to favour the Roman or some other Antichrist, as is now the case in Germany; so that it cannot be piously admitted by pious ministers of Christ. I confess also that due honour is derogated from pious Magistrates, by those who deny that we ought to defer to their judgment in these things (Romans xiv.); provided, indeed, that they decide on the use of these Vestments in that reasonable way which I have stated a little before.

However, Most Reverend Father, the religion of Christ compels me to add, that—since undoubtedly at this day these

Vestments have given rise to superstition in some, and to pernicious contention in others—it would be far better to abolish them: nevertheless, in this order, and on this condition; that we should first abolish all sacrileges; false and impious doctrines; perverse, superstitious, and profane disciplines, and rites; and all spoliation of Churches; and that we should restore the whole doctrine and discipline of Christ, together with things consecrated to the use of the Lord. I mean, that all who do not faithfully discharge the whole ministry of Christ, should be removed from all Parochial ministrations and offices; that there should be an end of all Simony, all sacrileges, by which Parishes are at this day horribly despoiled, schools ruined, and Christ's poor starved. Let faithful and suitable ministers be sought for every Parish, and let there be given to them as much as is needed for the decent and pious maintenance of themselves and their ministry. Let there be something decided, once for all, from the Divine Oracles, concerning both the dogmas and the rites of Christ. Let Schools, and endowments[u] for the really needy, be restored. Let provision be made for the King's Majesty, for the State, for individuals, as far as is needful, from legitimate sources:—for individuals, from their own honest industry, and, where that is insufficient, from the alms of the saints;—for the State, and for the King's Majesty, by equitable taxes, from every soul and every property in the kingdom, according to their respective abilities:—for God has bestowed on this kingdom riches of all kinds, abundantly and over-abundantly. Let that law of God once more prevail, "He that will not work neither should he eat;" and let each bestow on the State, and the King's Majesty, according as he has received of the Lord from the King's Majesty and the State. Let luxury be restrained, and let all the tricks of grasping-selfishness[v] be repressed. Piously has the tyranny of the Roman Antichrist been banished from this kingdom; banished, also, be the methods which he introduced of despoiling Churches, subverting Schools, defrauding Christ's poor, and laying waste His religion.[w]

[u] "Procurationes,"—*Stewardships.*

[v] "Πλεονεξίας artificia."

[w] The whole of this paragraph,—from the word "*However*" down to "*religion*"—is omitted in the Tract called, "The Resolution of D. Martin Bucer, &c., on thapparel of Ministers," set forth in 1566, as is supposed by Archbishop Parker.

Most Reverend Father, I implore you to take all these [suggestions] in good part. I scrupled to reply more briefly and nakedly, because I perceive, how Satan struggles to sow contentions about religious dogmas and rites, lest the whole of the religion of Christ should be restored, as it ought to be, and as all pious Kings desire it should be, according to the commands of God, and the examples He has given us through Moses and Christ His Son. Indeed, unless such horrid and manifest sacrileges, and contempt of God, be taken out of the way, and the whole kingdom of the Son of God be once and for ever embraced, and our necks be successively bowed to His good yoke,—O how will the wrath of God burst out in an intolerable flame [x] even in this kingdom! [y] Scripture is full of instances; and just now Germany throws before us one but too terrific.

May our Lord Jesus Christ be present, by His Spirit, to the King's Majesty, to you the chief Fathers of His Churches, and to all the Nobles of the land, that you may know and embrace, in due season and in dutiful manner, the time of your salutary visitation, and all those things in which alone the peace and safety of the kingdom consists. Amen! I thank the Lord that He so favourably regards your Most Reverend Fathership; may He ever continue to do so. Amen.

Cambridge, December [z] 8, 1850.

[MARTIN BUCER.]

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[x] "Intolleranda deflagrabit."

[y] The Editor, Conrad Hubert, of Bucer's Scripta Anglica, here remarks in the margin,—"A notable prophecy of Bucer!" Hubert wrote this, in the retrospect of the Marian fires.

[z] The date is, December 10, in "The Resolution of D. Martin Bucer," &c., printed by Jugge (1556).

LIX.

JOHN À LASCO TO HARDENBERG.

LONDON, *December* 12, 1550.

[Latin: printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, II., ii., p. 653, 4to. Groningæ, 1750.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

IT so happens, that the person who will bring you this letter is prepared to start for his journey at the moment when I am informed of his departure; I have no time, therefore, to write at length. . . .

I wonder that you should write to me about the English cloth to be sent into my Friesland, since you know that this is no concern of mine, and since you know, moreover, that this kind of goods is not to be had by every one: hence, I can give no reply. But, if my Frieslanders desire to purchase cloth, let them write to the merchants themselves, and not employ me as an agent, &c. However, I promise my assistance as far as I am able to give it. . . .

We have now actually the promise of a Church,[zz] to have, possess, and govern it. May God be with us by His Spirit. The French have another Church,[a] under the same [form of] ministry as our own; and they have ministers as well as a ministry; but we are without a minister, and up to this time we have been expecting some from our own country, but we rejoice that you remain yonder. However, we desire that some pious and learned man.[b] . . . Farewell. Salute all to whom we desire to be remembered. Commend us to all; and again Farewell.

London, December 12, 1550.

YOU KNOW THE HAND.

[zz] The Belgian Church in Austin Friars.

[a] The French Church in Threadneedle-street; pulled down, and rebuilt in Aldersgate-street a few years ago.

[b] The letter is imperfect.

LX.

JOHN À LASCO TO JOHN UTENHOVEN.

No date. Probably *December*, 1550.

[Latin: original in the Archives of the Belgian Church, Austin Friars. Printed by Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, II., ii., p. 655, 4to., Groningæ, 1750.]

† *Translation now first published.*

THE Visit of our Master Hooper will be exceedingly agreeable to me, since I had intended at all events to see him to-morrow. But I could have wished that the lady, his wife, could accompany him, if indeed not inconvenient to him. For I hope that our slender pretensions would not have been unsatisfactory to them both.

Probably it will not be till after dinner that we shall have conversation with Master Hooper; so that it may not be expedient to digress to the affairs of our Church. I think, therefore, that it will be better to meet to-morrow at eight o'clock in the morning at your house; and that there the most celebrated men of each Church should assemble with you: thus, when the Church matters have been dispatched, we can come to dinner together with Master Hooper, and give up the whole of the remainder of the day to Master Hooper and conversation with him. If you do not approve this, do not scruple to tell me so. But if my plan meets your wishes, then there will be need to give me an answer. If therefore I hear nothing from you to-day, to-morrow at eight o'clock I shall be at your house, where you can assemble my other colleagues.

Your most devoted

JOHN À LASCO.

LXI.

EXHORTATION TO THE MYSTICAL SUPPER OF THE LORD.[c]

[Latin: printed in Petri Martyris Epistolæ Theologicæ, edit. fol., Lond., 1583, p. 1067, at the end of the "Loci Communes." English Translation in Martyr's Divine Epistles, by Anthonie Marten, p. 137, col. 1, folio, London, 1583.]

New Translation.

COME, brethren, most beloved, now the Supper of the Lord is to be ministered: to which in the name of God I invite you all as many as are present; and I adjure you by Jesus Christ our Lord, by the blessed hope of his coming, and the eternal happiness which we look for, that ye, being thus bountifully and kindly called and invited by God, do not refuse to come. Ye know how grievous and offensive a thing it is, now to have prepared a gorgeous banquet, to have furnished a table with splendid provision; and, while nothing is wanting but that the seats should be occupied, that the guests should declare without any just and lawful cause that they will not come. Which of you in such a case would not be moved? Who would not think that a very heavy injury was done him? Wherefore, most dearly beloved in Christ, take heed that you do not, by refusing this holy Supper, provoke against yourselves the wrath of God, and incur his most bitter anger. It is easy to say to men, "I do not communicate, because I cannot." But it is most difficult, yea, it is impossible, that an excuse of this kind should be approved before God. Suppose that God should ask, "Why can you not?"—What, I adjure you, will you reply?—"I have been defiled with sins."—Why do you not repent? For

[c] This Exhortation, with some abridgment and alteration, was adopted (in King Edward VIth's second Liturgy) into the Communion Service of the Church of England. It forms the second Exhortation, "Dearly beloved brethren," &c.—See Liturgies of Edward VI., pp. 271—3, Parker Soc., 1844. It was further shortened at the last revision of 1662. See Keeling's "Liturgiæ Britannicæ," pp. 190—5, ed. 1842.

repentance no long space of time is required. You can, with fresh hope of gain or advantage, straightway change your purpose; you can alter your design; you can do the opposite to what you had intended. But, when you ought to depart from sin, you say, "I cannot:" when you ought to return to God, you allege, "I am not able." Consider ye, again and again, that such excuses will not avail. They who refused the feast of the good man of the house, because they had bought a farm, because they were about to prove yokes of oxen, or had married wives, were not excused, but were counted unworthy of the heavenly calling and invitation. For my part, I am present, and for the discharge of my embassy I invite you in the name of God; by Christ I call you; by your salvation I exhort you, that you communicate; and, as the Son of God vouchsafed for your salvation to lay down his life on the cross, that even so you vouchsafe to celebrate here the memory of His death, together with the rest of your brethren, as He has commanded. This if you will not by any means do, and do not suffer yourselves to be led from your obstinate and stubborn purpose, consider well with yourselves how great an injury you do to God, and how great a vengeance awaiteth you on that account.

And because, in refusing this holy feast, you very greatly offend God, I admonish and exhort and adjure you, that you do not add to this sin another sin besides; which would be, if you were to stand by, not being about to communicate, gazing on those who communicate. What else will this be, than to do a greater injury to God? It is truly a gross affront to give a refusal to a person who invites: but this becomes far greater when men stand by, and in the meanwhile do not sit down, nor eat, nor drink. This, moreover, is to make a mockery of the mysteries of Christ. It will be said to all: "Take ye and eat. Take and eat ye all of this. This do ye in remembrance of me." With what face, with what forehead, with what heart will ye hear these things? What else will it be to neglect, to despise, and to deride the testament of Christ, if this be not so? Wherefore do ye rather depart, and give place to holy persons. But, in departing, I beseech you consider with yourselves, in due time and seriously, from whence you depart; namely, from God, from Christ, from the brethren, and from the feast of the utmost

charity. These things, if you will faithfully consider, perhaps you will return to a sound judgment and to the right way. Which that we may, through the Divine mercy, obtain, we shall here pray while we communicate together.

LXII.

À LASCO TO BULLINGER.

LONDON, *January* 7, 1551.

[Latin: original in the Archives at Zurich:—from which it was printed by Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV., i., p. 467, edit. Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

THE third time since I came here it has been my intention to write to you, holy man and respected brother in the Lord; but I was never able to finish my letter, till those persons, by whom I meant to convey it, had actually left. I will risk no longer delay, nor allow the messenger, who now presents himself to me, to go without a letter to you. He is truly a pious man; and one who is particularly attached to you, though indeed there are many such. I have much to say; but neither is it safe, nor have I leisure to write all that is in my mind. . . . .

First, then, I thank the Lord our God that the Kingdom of his Son so advances and shines in your city through your ministry. Heartily do I congratulate your Churches on that [a] Consent of doctrine between you and Master Calvin, on the Sacramentarian matter which has been established; I hope that day by day more will subscribe to it.

We here [in the Strangers' Church] follow the same doctrine; although we sometimes express it in different words; and in a short time, if the Lord will, we shall all unanimously put forth our Confession. We even promise ourselves good success, in this matter, among certain of the Saxon Churches, by God's

[a] The *Consensus Tigurinus*, adopted August 30, 1549. See it in Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum, pp. 191—196; edit. Lipsiæ, 1840.

blessing. Here, through the goodness of God, and of our King, we have established a German and a French[b] Church; and we have the ministry of the word of God in two places, in the German and in the French languages. Now we are holding discussions on the pure use of the Sacraments and of discipline; which, by the blessing of God, we hope to have shortly. We are gathering a Church, on the condition, that whosoever desires to be a member of it shall subscribe to our Confession, so that we may have a list of all the names of the whole Church. I transmit you a few copies of our Confession, that you may be well informed of our doctrine. I wish you would transmit one of these to Master Calvin; as we could desire both to have his approval of all our proceedings, and to have the benefit of his prayers to the Lord for our ministry here. The Italians, also, have their own Church; a building is assigned to them, and a Minister appointed specially for them, a pious and learned man, endowed with a singular gift of speaking, and one who has suffered much for the glory of Christ. The Ministers of the German Church are, Gualter Delænus, formerly Librarian of the deceased King; and Martin the Fleming, (who was sometime among you, if I do not mistake, together with Master Hooper,) and on whose appointment we greatly congratulate ourselves, on account of his candour, simplicity, erudition, and piety. The French have Francis Riverius, and Richard [the Frenchman[bb]], each of them well learned and eloquent. . . . .

London, January 7, 1551.

Attached to you, for your piety, with my whole heart,

JOHN À LASCO.

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[b] The German, Belgian, or Foreigners' Church, (formerly that of the Augustinians,) in Austin Friars, was granted by Patent, (Rot. Pat. 4, Ed. VI., p. 5,) on the 24th of July, 1550: see the Patent printed at large in Burnet, II. ii. 283.—The French Church was in Threadneedle-street; it was taken down a few years ago, and handsomely rebuilt in Aldersgate-street.

[bb] "Gallus"—so in the Patent Roll, 4 Ed. VI., p. 5.

LXIII.

MARTYR TO BUCER.

OXFORD, *January* 10, 1551.

[Latin Autograph, in Abp. Parker's MSS., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, CXIX., not paged, but occurs between f. 105 and f. 107.—Printed in Strype's Cranmer, II. 898, Append. No. LXI., edit. Oxford, 1840.]

† *Translation*[c] *now first published entire.*

AT this time nothing could happen more desirable or agreeable to me than that I should see your '*Censura*' on the Book of Sacred [Offices].[d] I therefore return you infinite thanks for your condescension in sending it to me. A request had already been made to me, that I also would myself state my opinion respecting it. And when, by reason of my want of knowledge of the [English] language, the version[e] of Mr. Cheke was given me for perusal, I noted those things which appeared to me worthy of correction, as far as I was able to collect them from that [translation].

But because, in the version put into my hands, several things were wanting, on that account I passed over many things, concerning which I have said nothing in my Annotations. Afterwards, when I discovered, from your Writing that these things were contained in that Book, I regretted that, two or three days before, I had already carried my *Censura*[f] to the Most Reverend [the Archbishop], who had pressed me for it.

[c] Strype gives the substance, but not a translation of this letter (Cranmer, i. 299—302, and 361, 362). A translation of the first portion of it is given in Dr. Bayford's Speech in the Court of Arches, in the case *Gorham* v. *Bishop of Exeter*, pp. 224, 225, 8vo., London, 1849.

[d] "Librum Sacrorum," (not "Librorum Sacrorum," as in Strype).—Bucer's "Censura" was dated January 5, 1551. Edward VI.'s *first* Prayer Book, 1549, was now under revision. The *second* or revised Liturgy was printed in September, 1551, it was sanctioned by Parliament in April, 1552, and came into public use November 1st of that year.

[e] Strype says that *Ales's* Latin Version was put into Bucer's hands. Cranmer, i. 300.

[f] Martyr's *Censura* is unhappily lost.

However, I at length applied this remedy. I collected the heads of those matters which, from your Writing I perceived to be deficient in my [copy of the] book; and, since the same things which you disapproved appeared also to myself not to be borne, I reduced them into short articles; and I stated to the Most Reverend (who already knew that you had written on these matters to the Lord Bishop of Ely) that I agreed with you that a change should be made in all those particulars which I laid before him as noted in those articles.

However, in my former Annotations, almost all those things which had offended you had been annotated by me. I would now send you a copy, but I have it not so written out that you would be able to read it. I have only wondered how you could have omitted to disapprove the order which is given in the Communion of the Sick, if it shall happen to be on the Sunday on which the Lord's Supper is celebrated, that the Minister should, in that case, take with him a portion of the elements, and so should administer the Communion in the house of the sick person. In which matter, it offends me that they do not there repeat those things which particularly belong to the Lord's Supper; since I agree with you in thinking that the words of the Supper belong more to men than to bread or to wine. I stated, that it clearly seems to me, that all things that are necessarily required for the Lord's Supper, should be both said and done in the presence of the sick person, and of those who communicate with him. And it is, indeed, wonderful that they should scruple to say those words in the presence of a sick person, which might be very profitable to him,—though they choose to repeat them, uselessly, whenever it happens during communion in the Church that wine is wanting in the cup, although the per[sons] [i] who take the Sacraments, have already heard them.

These are the points which I have considered as of some m[*oment*] [k]; and I do not fully understand why you have omitted them. But in all those matters which you have judged to need amendment, I [am of] [l] your opinion.[m] And I thank God who

[i] "Hom.....," in the MS., probably for "hom*ines*," the margin being torn.

[k] The margin being torn in the MS., the letter "m....." only appears, probably for "m*omenti*."

[l] "S...," in the MS., probably for "S*um*," the margin being torn.

[m] Bucer's opinion is given at great length in his "Censura," printed in his

has given us an opportunity of laying before the Bishops our suggestions on all these things. It has now been decided in their conference, as the Most Reverend informs me, that many things shall be changed; but what corrections they have decided upon, he did not explain to me, nor was I so bold as to ask him. But I have been not a little gratified by what Mr. Cheke has told me; he says, that if they will not make the changes which have been considered necessary, the King himself will do this; and that, when Parliament meets, he will interpose his Royal authority.

The cause of [the Bishop of] Winchester is now for the fourth time before the Court; his answer has no other bearing, than to purge himself from contumacy. His speech is spoken of by Papists, as learned and acute; by true and sound judges, as crafty, delusive, foreign to the cause, and, in one word, sophistical. I can readily believe this; for I never knew him to act otherwise in theological matters. However that may be, it is thought that he will altogether lose his cause.

I cannot but wonder at what you write to me about Hopper [Hooper]. Certainly I was struck with amazement when I heard it. But it is well that the Bishops have seen my letter,[mm] which will clear me from all suspicion. His cause lies in such a state, that it cannot be approved by good and pious men. I am grieved, I am grieved exceedingly, that such things should happen among professors of the Gospel. During all this time, while he is forbidden to preach, he cannot, it seems, be quiet: he has put forth a confession of his faith, by which, again, he has excited bitter feelings in the minds of many. He complains, moreover, of the Council; and, possibly, though I am not told this, of us. May God give a happy issue to acts which cannot but be regretted.

Doctor Smith,[n] formerly Professor at Oxford, who wrote so

"Scripta Anglicana." Burnet (Reform., II. 286—288) has given an abstract of the principal points which Bucer recommended to be corrected, and says, truly, that most of them were adopted. Dr. Cardwell thinks (Liturgies of Edw. VI., Pref., p. xxvi., note, edit. 1838), that these alterations were made chiefly before Bucer's Report was sent in: but his reasons seem inconclusive.

[mm] That letter is printed above, No. LIII., p. 187.

[n] See a notice of him, above, p. 152, note.

contemptuously about me last summer[o] "On Monastic Vows," has now published a book[p] in English against my Lord of Canterbury, on the Sacramentarian matter. Respecting which I can form no judgment, since I do not understand that language; however, I shall soon be made acquainted with its drift, and its follies; for he writes, that he has in the press something[q] which he has written against me on the same subject. I care little or nothing about these things, since I can expect nothing but falsehoods from Satan and the slaves of the Pope.

Our sins, and the very slender fruit of the Gospel, alarm me. On the other hand, [I am alarmed at] the successes of Cæsar, whom I consider as the severest scourge of God: and [yet] in the midst of these evils, our Strangers' Churches[r] find leisure for trifling! A great contention has sprung up among them, respecting the Church which was granted them by the King. Their minds are so implacable, and inflamed to such an extent, that the King's Council must settle their dispute. I pray God that the affair may not, as they deserve, have a disastrous issue.

[o] See the title of this book, above, p. 153, note.

[p] Smith's Work was entitled, "A Confutation of a certen Booke, called A defence of the true and catholike doctrine of the sacramēt, &c., sette fourth of late in the name of Thomas Archebyshoppe of Canterburye, By Richarde Smyth, Docter of Diuinitie, and some tyme reader of the same in Oxforde." Small 8vo., 166 folios [not pages]. This title is erroneously set forth in the Deposition of Richard Smyth against Cranmer, (printed in Strype, Cranmer, 1089,) as "A Confutation of the Catholic Doctrine, &c."; and thence has been copied by subsequent writers, and in Cranmer's Works, edit. Parker Society, I. 9.

[q] The Work referred to was published with the following title: "Diatribe de hominis Iustificatione ædita Oxoniæ in Anglia anno a nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, 1550, mense Februario, adversus Petrum Martyrē Vermilinū olim Cartusianū Lucēnsem in Italia, nunc apostatā in Anglia Oxoniæ, acerrimum improborum dogmatum assertorem, sed imperitum, & impudentem cum primis. Per Ricardum Smythæum Anglum Mygorniensem [*sic*]. Lovanii, apud Antonium Mariam Bergaigne, Typogra. Jurat. Anno Domini 1550. Mense Octobri, cum gratia & privilegio." There is a Dedication to "Ruardus ab Enchusia," dated "Lovanii, Anno Domini ab orbe redēpto 1550, Mense Septembri." 8vo. Folios (not pages) iv., and 223. On the reverse of f. 223, there is this Colophon, "Lovanii, apud Antonium Mariam Bergaigne, Typogra. Iurat. Anno Domini Nostri 1551, Memsis [*sic*] Ianuarij, Die xxij.," followed by a cut of a Leopard.

[r] The Belgic, or Dutch Church, in Austin Friars.

I have been greatly desirous of taking my departure; but I obtained permission to leave, only this day. I have delivered your Writing[s] to Peter Alexander, that he may return it to you when he has read it. In the mean time, I pray for every blessing and much happiness for you and all yours. Julius unites with me, in wishing you much health. Lambeth, January 10, 1551.

Yours in Christ,

PETER MARTYR.

To the distinguished and learned Dr. Martin Bucer, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, greatly respected by me.

"*Received the* 12*th of January.*"

LXIV.

MARTYR TO BUCER.

Probably from OXFORD, and early in *February*,[t] 1551.

[Latin, not Martyr's Autograph, but probably a cotemporary copy; MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Mm. 4, 14 (not paged), Art. 6: formerly among the MSS. of Moore, Bishop of Ely: given by George I. to the University of Cambridge.]

* *Now first published.*[u]—*Translation.*

ON the 1st of February I received your letter dated January 22nd.[v]

[s] "Scriptum," doubtless the *Censura* which forms the subject of this letter.

[t] This letter states that it is a reply to one received from Bucer on the 1st February: Bucer died February 28. The date of the letter, therefore, is *fixed*, within a few weeks.

[u] This is a very important letter; but is not noticed in Strype's printed Works; though it was seen by him, for at the foot is a note in Strype's hand—"*P. Mr. Do. Bucero. Opinio Cranmeri cum quo tunc erat Martir.*" Strype is however mistaken, for he had clearly left the Archbishop.

[v] That letter has probably perished. It must have been one of peculiar interest, since it followed immediately on Martyr's letter, January 10th, containing his remarks on the revision of King Edward's first Liturgy.

Concerning the Reformation of the Rituals,[w] I cannot write any thing else as to what will be [done], except that the Bishops have agreed among themselves on many emendations and corrections in the published Book.[x] Indeed, I have seen the alterations on which they have decided, noted in their places; but, as I am ignorant of English, and could not understand them, so I am unable to give you any certain information about them. However, I do not think they have gone so far, as to determine on adopting the whole of your and my suggestions. To our [Archbishop], indeed, I said, more than once, that, having undertaken this correction[y] of the Rituals, they ought to look well to it,[z] that the restoration they make should be so simple, chaste, and pure, that there may be no further need for emendation: for, if frequent changes should take place in these matters, it might at length easily come to pass that they would fall into general contempt. And I am persuaded that, if the business had been committed to his individual hand, purity of ceremonies would without difficulty have been attained by him: but he has colleagues who offer resolute opposition.[a] Cheke is the only person there, who openly and earnestly favours simplicity. But this is a matter of the deepest concern—that, while they are [altogether[b]] occupied with those subjects of smaller importance, those things in the Church, which ought to be considered as the prow and the stern, remain neglected! For, as to establishing order in parishes, and [taking care] that doctrine and discipline may be ministered everywhere among the people—not a syllable (*ουδὲ γρὺ*)! For my own part, I expect little fruit; because I cannot perceive, in another way, among those who ought to govern the Church, any interchange of counsels and deliberations.[c]

I grieve more for Hoper[d] than I can express either by words

[w] "Rituum."

[x] The first Liturgy of King Edward VI., 1549.

[y] "Castigationem."

[z] "Videndum eis esse."

[a] "Collegas admodum renitentes."

[b] I have supplied conjecturally a short word which I fail to decipher in the MS.—G.

[c] This passage has perhaps been incorrectly copied from Martyr's autograph; and the final word (here printed in italics) is not easy to be decyphered. "Non viderim aliâ viâ, inter illos qui Ecclesiam regere debent, concilia et deliberationes *communicari*."

[d] Hooper: Bishop elect of Gloucester. On the 13th of January, he was

or by writing. Nothing has happened to him which I had not foreseen and foretold before I left the Archbishop; when there, at Lambeth, I three times had a conference with him, and exerted every effort to break down his determination. And, certainly, at our first meeting, I entertained some hope of softening him, although I had not clearly [gained[e]] his assent; and he requested me to return to him after dinner. In the meantime, another person had access to him—the leader of the farce[f]—as both you and I well know. The result of his advice was, that he was rendered far more[g] obstinate, as I afterwards learnt, than ever before. Therefore, seeing that nothing could be done, I left him sufficiently admonished, if he would but have listened, of the dangers which hung over him.

Ah! miserable condition of the Church—not only troubled on every side by the persecutions of Antichrist, but so easily shaken by the offences of her own [members]! If "it must needs be," as Christ has said, "that offences come,"—at least may He be with us, who can rescue us from our difficulties!

[PETER MARTYR.]

LXV.

BISHOP HOOPER TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

From the Fleet Prison, LONDON, *February* 15, 1551.

[Original Latin, in possession of the Rev. J. Fuller Russell, Incumbent of Greenhithe, Kent; printed in Nevinson's Early Writings of Hooper, p. xv., edit. Parker Society, 1852.]

† *Translation now first published.*

IT has much grieved me that my Writing[h] has not given satisfaction to the Lords of the Council; for I did, indeed, hope that

consigned to the custody of Cranmer; and he was sent to the Fleet Prison on the 27th of January, for not conforming to the Vestments.

[e] A word is obscure here.

[f] "Fabulæ χοράγος." Probably John à Lasco is the person referred to.

[g] "Obfirmatior."

[h] See above, p. 185, note (p).

I should have so satisfied them by my Writing, that they could not have exacted anything more from me. For, what could I do more, when my conscience had been set free from every scruple by which it had been previously agitated, than defer the settlement of this question to your clemency, and promise that I would do whatever you might determine? In that Writing I was unwilling to contend: my only purpose was, to purge myself from every charge of disobedience and contempt of the Royal authority and of your clemency; and, to this end, I introduced a few arguments which had hitherto had influence with me. I also wished you should understand, that I acknowledged the liberty of the sons of God in all external things; which I do not affirm and believe to be either impious in themselves, or to be impious in any use of them: I reprehend, as Master Bucer and Master Martyr do, the abuse of them by those who use them superstitiously, or badly in any other respect; and this may be pernicious to all persons. However, as far as regards myself in this matter of the use of the Vestments and Rites of Episcopal Inauguration, if hitherto I have doubted or scrupled in any respect, still I think that I should satisfy every duty of reverence and obedience, if, desiring to prefer my own opinion and judgment to all others, I should subject myself to the judgment of your clemency, doing *ex animo* whatever you shall adjudge: and this is what in my Writing I expressed my willingness to do; and now I do and promise the same. For, in this matter I have begun so far to look with suspicion on my own judgment and opinion, that I have considered it more prudent and more becoming Christian humility, to stand and rely on the judgment of your clemency, or of those pious and learned men in the law of God whom you may nominate, than on that of myself alone. I do not think that my sentiments have undergone any alteration. I return thanks to your reverend clemency, that you have condescended to undergo so much annoyance and labour on my account. I earnestly pray that you will exert your influence with the rest of the Lords of the Council, that they may be content in the name of Christ; and that they may not think that I am doing anything under dissimulation, or fear, or any other motive than for the Church: the Lord Jesus, who knows all hearts, is witness. May He always prosper your reverend

clemency by His Spirit, and bless you with all good things. In prison, February 15, 1551.

Your reverend clemency's most respectful,

JO. HOPPER.

LXVI.

CALVIN TO BUCER.

GENEVA, *February* 23, 1551.

"This letter was delivered after Bucer's death."[i]

[Latin Holograph, MSS. Parker, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 119, f. 156.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.—Extract.*[k]

IF it be true, which I can hardly credit, that you have been sent for by the King to preach in London at this time, you will learn more from the messenger. I am not sure that he will have a convenient opportunity for visiting Cambridge.

You now know, I suppose, what a rascally impostor is that fellow Florian,[l] of whom you wrote to me in such eulogistic terms. Master à Lasco wrote to me lately to clear himself about him.

In that letter he inserted something, I forget what, which led me to suspect that you had not yet agreed about the Sacraments;[m] although he added at the same time, that "he had good hope of a full consent." I wish something may come forth, which may not only testify your consent, but may also throw light upon this doctrine; for certainly a more full (*uberior*)

[i] "Hæ Literæ redditæ sunt post mortem Dni. Buceri." Note in the handwriting of Matthew Parker.

[k] The first part is on the political affairs of Germany.

[l] Florian was in Poland under the auspices of John à Lasco in May, 1550. See Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 187, where he is spoken of as an acquaintance of Rolph Gualter. See John à Lasco's account of his impositions, in a letter from him to Bullinger, June 7, 1551, below.

[m] Many letters passed between Bucer and A Lasco on the Lord's Supper. Bucer's last communication (being his "Thoughts on A Lasco's Aphorisms on the Sacred Eucharist" and also his "last writing," as a MS. note of Parker's

explanation, than that which is given in our Formula,[n] is greatly to be desired.

At the request, or rather the earnest entreaty of some pious men, I have dedicated my Commentary on the Canonical Epistles, and another on Isaiah, to [King Edward VI.[o]]. If the Prefaces should by chance fall into your hands, you will not be sorry to read them. In a private letter,[p] however, I have exhorted him somewhat more freely and pointedly, and especially that he would apply some remedy to the [Public] Schools.

Since we live too far distant to make it practicable for me to seek your advice, I should like you at least to know what I have lately written to Dr. Philip [Melancthon]; I therefore send you a copy of my Epistle.

Farewell, distinguished man, and always heartily respected father. May the Lord preserve you and your family by His guardianship,—bless your labours with prosperity,—govern the whole course of your life by His Spirit. Amen. My colleagues, Farell and Viret, and many of the brethren, reverently salute you.

Geneva, February 23, 1551.

Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

To the distinguished servant of Christ, D. Martin Bucer, my much respected father and fellow-minister.

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informs us) still exists in Bucer's hand, MSS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 113, ff. 391-407. It is exceedingly difficult to be decyphered, and is apparently a rough draft.

[n] The "Zurich Consent," adopted August 31, 1549. Westphal, and other extreme Lutherans, having bitterly attacked it, Calvin himself published a more full explanation, on the 13th of December, 1554, entitled, "Consensionis Capitum Expositio:" which see in Niemeyer, Collect. Confess., pp. 202-217. Lipsæ, 8vo., 1840.

[o] The MS. is not easily to be decyphered here.

[p] This Letter is printed in Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 707, edit. 1847. The Original French has been lately published by Bonnet, Lettres de Calvin, I., 325, edit. Paris, 1854.

LXVII.

MARTYR TO THE COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS IN STRASBURGH.

OXFORD, *March* 8, 1551.

[Latin: printed in Petri Martyris "Epistolæ Theologiæ," edit. fol., Lond., 1583, p. 1088, at the end of the "Loci Communes."—English Translation in Martyr's Divine Epistles, by Anthonie Marten, p. 81, col. 2, folio, London, 1583.]

New Translation.

WORSHIPFUL SIRS, and very dear brethren in Christ, it certainly would have been far more acceptable to me to send you in my letter joyful rather than sad tidings: but, since it has thus seemed well to the providence of God, which is never to be accused, it becomes me also to bear what has happened with such a heart as I am able. Hitherto perhaps I might have been suspected of negligence, for not having written to you: but, as I knew that this was diligently done by Master Bucer, I thought there was no need of my letters. I certainly know that from him you presently became aware of what we both were doing, and what issue of events might be looked for. But now he has departed to his and our Lord Jesus Christ in peace, even the last day of February, with the great lamentation of all godly men, and of myself beyond all others. Neither do I doubt but that you, my reverend associates, will have suffered great pain in the loss the Church, the school, and our college have sustained of so great a man. He had now overcome the more weighty difficulties and troubles, which are wont to hinder beginnings; so that he had now been received by almost all the learned and godly men of that University in which he was a Professor. Therefore God would that he should now receive the fruit of his labours, and that, his warfare having been accomplished, he should be adorned with the honour of a triumph. He has been well provided for. Rather are we, who still are tossed on the storms of distresses, to be accounted miserable and unhappy. I therefore pray the eternal God, who according to his mercy has made him to rest in peace, to deliver us also from his impending

scourges. Nor do I less wish that our Chapter may be provided with a Dean and Associate, who may be compared as to godliness and learning with his predecessor. I bid you all farewell in the Lord.

Oxford, in England, March 8, 1551.

LXVIII.

SIR JOHN CHEKE TO MARTYR.

WESTMINSTER, *March* 10, 1551.

[Latin: printed in Bucer's Scripta Anglicana, p. 864, Basil., 1577.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*[a]

* * * * CAMBRIDGE has most creditably bestowed the greatest possible honour upon Bucer, of whom death has deprived her, by so ordering his funeral[b] as to manifest towards the [late] prison of his soul, in token of its future resurrection, that true regard which they could not now manifest to himself taken up into heaven. He was buried in the celebrated University Church; a procession accompanying the body composed of, not only the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Doctors, and others distinguished by their degrees in the University, but of many others who flowed together to pay their tribute to talent and to worth. The Mayor, and other Townsmen, under the influence of the same respect for erudition and integrity, in a new and unusual but laudable manner, mixed themselves with the Gownsmen, in order to pay the highest honour to his funeral, and to shew their sentiments on the greatness of his virtues by this rare and voluntary token of esteem. A crowd of

[a] The first half of this letter is a pious but prolix eulogy of Bucer. There is a letter from Cheke to Walter Haddon on the same subject, but not of equal interest, and only consolatory, dated March 19, 1551, printed in Hubert's Historia Vera de Obitu, &c., Buceri, p. 66, and in Buceri Scripta Angl., p. 899.

[b] For a further account of this funeral, see Strype, Memorials, II., i., 382. See also Martyr's Letter to Hubert, Oxford, March 8, 1561 (where the notice of the funeral, however, is short), in Original Letters of the Reformers, p. 490, Parker Society, reprinted from Hubert's Historia, &c., p. 68, and Buceri Scripta Angl., p. 900.

about 3,000 men, many among them of the lower orders, incapable of understanding his lectures and preaching, but excited by the fame and general report of his doctrine and religious character, assembled at his funeral, testifying the general esteem which Bucer has acquired, by utterances, tears, and lamentations. Prayers being ended according to our form, and thanksgivings being rendered to God the Father of mercies that he had passed the whole course of his life so piously and Christianly, and, though tossed about, had reached with praise and constancy the end of those troubles and pains with which this mortal life is beset and exercised,—then Haddon, a Doctor of Laws, the University Orator, a man of distinguished eloquence, himself weak through a complaint in the bowels, and himself a dying man while discoursing on death,—whether stirred up by the vastness of this calamity, or feeling himself personally bereaved of the society of so Christian and pious a man, or struck in his mind by the universal grief of so mighty a crowd,—pronounced an Oration,[c] so suited by its gravity to so grave an event, that tears gushed abundantly from every eye. For they reflected that they were as orphans who had lost a Master whose superior scarcely the whole world could produce;[d] whether in respect of his knowledge of true religion, or the integrity and innocency of his life, or his insatiable love of holy things, or his indefatigable labour for the promotion of piety, or the authority and amplitude of his teaching, or whatever else in his character was laudable and glorious. Such was the ardour of his Oration, that tears trickled down every cheek, while they indulged in thoughtful regrets for this celebrated man whose decease had left them to wander without a shepherd;—Haddon himself being their leader, not only in voice and grief, but in lamentation and tears. Master Parker, a Doctor of Divinity, a grave and pious man, followed him, and preached a sermon in English to the people, in which he taught, in what respects we ought to mourn for the departed, and in what respects to rejoice and congratulate them. Next, what losses, public and private, had been incurred by the death of one man, Bucer; and for what reasons we ought to bear with a calm and equable mind the termination of life, an event common to all, but so memorable

[c] This Oration is published in Haddoni Lucubrationes, Londini, 1567.

[d] Literally, "could receive,"—"*caperet*."

to only a few. Thus on that night everyone went to his home, as it were in bereavement and in desolation.

The next day, a congregation was again assembled at the church; thanksgivings having been rendered, in the usual way, that [the Lord] brings his own in seasonable times into the port and refuge of salvation, and the benefit of the death of Christ being offered at the Lord's Table, 400 drew nigh to the Communion of the Eucharist, thus commemorating the death of Christ, and by communion with Him increasing the hope of a resurrection. Then Redman, Doctor of Divinity, an erudite and pious man, preached to a crowded congregation: he pointed out, what death is; that the whole life of the good and the wise, is a meditation on death; that nothing ought so deeply to vibrate on the ears of all, as a departure from this frail and perishable body; that the examples of the good are brought before us to lead our thoughts perpetually to reflection on death; and that, to that end, all our acts, words, and studies should be brought to bear on these questions—what was laudable and worthy of imitation in the life of Bucer?—what was memorable and glorious in his death? He then concluded his sermon with prayer.

At the early dawn of the same day,[e] all the students who were able to compose anything, and who had made a proficiency in Greek and Latin, brought to grace his grave such pieces as they could frame in Greek or Latin verse and prose; not indeed such as they considered worthy of Bucer, (whom they knew to be far above their praise,) but such as were prompted by a sense of duty to a man deserving of their warmest regards. Indeed, never were any spots, on which it is customary to celebrate festivals, more plentifully adorned with wreaths and garlands, than the place where he was interred, distinguished by epitaphs and odes.

Such honour did the scholars and the townspeople at Cambridge bring to Bucer, as a tribute to piety and to literature. God grant that these testimonies of external[f] regard may spring from an internal and personal feeling; and may they exhibit in their studies, opinions, and life, the influence of that true doctrine which he bequeathed: that so this noble man, if there

[e] "Eâdem aurorâ."

[f] The printed copy has, "æternæ," by a manifest error.

be any perception by those who rest in Christ of the transactions of this earthly scene, may rejoice in the fruit of the labours which he bestowed in this world below.

I perceive, Master Peter, that you are anxious about his family; but you have no ground for uneasiness in that matter. The Lord [Archbishop] of Canterbury, and his other friends, have made themselves responsible for this duty, to see that a decent provision be made for the survivors of the departed. The University, also, has done what it could: it has sent a letter to the King, and to the King's Councillors, on this affair; and the King, such is his singular piety and prudence, has promised to do what is just and reasonable for his family.

Forgive me (*αὐτοσχεδιάζοντι σοὶ τουτῶν περί*) for having written to you in an off-hand way about these matters. The Lord Jesus preserve you and your family.

Westminster, March 10, 1551.

[JOHN CHEKE.]

To the learned man, and my singular friend, Master Peter Martyr, the Florentine.

LXIX.

CALVIN TO BULLINGER.

GENEVA, *March* 12, 1551.

[Latin: Calvini Opera, IX., 59, col. 2, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.*

WHEN I was lately going to Neufchatel, a messenger with your letter met me on the road. After my return home, a certain Italian brought me another letter from you, with your *Fifth Decade*.[h] You modestly state that you do not send your publications to me with a view to my instruction: but for myself, I

[h] Bullinger's *Fifth Decade*, containing his Sermons on the Sacraments, was published at Zurich in 1551, with a long Epistle Dedicatory to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, dated in "the month of March." Calvin was, therefore, presented with a copy the moment it was published. It does not appear to have reached England till about the middle of May.

confess that, while I desire that the pious should profit by my labours, so I am glad to profit by the writings of others. And this is truly brotherly communication, when we consider the gifts of the Spirit to have been so dispensed among us, that no one should imagine that he is sufficiently supplied by his own measure. Hence your present was very acceptable to me.

The edition[i] of our "*Consensus*" gives much pleasure, not only to me, but to Farell and the rest of the brethren. I wish your letter had arrived fifteen days earlier; had it done so, this edition might have been published at the Frankfort fair. Its publication will be particularly seasonable, and I hope very useful, for France.

My *Commentaries on Isaiah,* and *on the Canonical Epistles,* have been lately printed: I have dedicated[k] both to the King of England. You can read a copy of one of those Prefaces, which I sent to Vergerio.[l] I added a private letter, in which I endeavoured to stimulate the generous mind of the young [Prince]. In the meantime came the sorrowful intelligence, that Hopper [Hooper] has been imprisoned, an event of which I previously had some apprehension. Now I fear lest the Bishops, as having thus far triumphed, should become ferociously insolent. On that account, although I commend his firmness in refusing to be

[i] It was first published at Zurich, from the press of Weissenbach, 8vo., 1549. The edition here mentioned by Calvin was probably a second edition, at Zurich, 1551, in Latin and German. A French and Latin edition appeared at Geneva, in 1551, from the press of S. Crispin.

[k] An English translation of this Dedication is printed in the 8vo. edit. of these Commentaries, by the Calvin Translation Society, Edinburgh, 1850 (pp. xix—xxv); it is dated Dec. 25, 1550. He dedicated a second edition to Queen Elizabeth, Jan. 15, 1559 (Ibid, pp. xvi—xviii). A private letter to Edward VI. accompanied the volume, without date, which is printed in the *Original Letters*, edit. Parker Society, 1847, pp. 707—711.

[l] Peter Paul Vergerio, when Bishop of Capo d'Istria, renounced Popery. Cœlius S. Curio, writing to Musculus in 1550, says, "he is always moving about instead of minding his own little Church among the Rhætians." Calvin writing to J. à Lasco, in 1556, guards his friend against listening to him, as "a vain man, of windy ostentation, whose movements are always suspicious." And Jewel, in 1559, alludes to him thus: "Who this person is,—if I tell you that he was once a Bishop—is now an exile—an Italian—a crafty knave—a courtier—either Peter or Paul—you will perhaps know him better than I do." Burcher says to Bullinger, in 1556, "I wish he were really either a Peter or a Paul . . . . if he should not change his mind, he will gain for himself indelible disgrace."—At the date of the letter in the text, Calvin was probably not fully aware of his double character.

anointed, yet I should have preferred that he had not contended so far about the cap and surplice,[m] (although I do not approve of them,) and so I recently endeavoured to persuade him. He has many and powerful adversaries, and I do not doubt they will exert their utmost influence for his oppression. But I trust the Lord will support him; and the more, because I am informed that some oppose him treacherously, who affect their attachment to the Gospel.

I congratulate you on the peaceful state of your Church. Here, there are unprincipled fellows, who occasion us no little trouble and disquietude: I trust that the end which they deserve is nigh at hand.

The designs of the Emperor make many anxious. That some of his troops are now crossing the Alps, raises just suspicion. If he invade this country, I shall console myself with no other hope, than that the Lord will release me from this miserable life. In the meantime, He will not neglect his flock, the care of which is the chief cause of my uneasiness.

Farewell, accomplished man, and my greatly respected fellow minister, together with all your brethren, whom you will salute very particularly in my name on behalf of all the rest. Gallars sends his personal regards to you. May the Lord rule you by His Spirit, protect you by His hand, and bless your holy labours. Amen.

Geneva, March 12, 1551.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

LXX.

CALVIN TO BULLINGER.

GENEVA, *April* 10, 1551.

[Latin, Opera Calvini, IX., 60, col. 1, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

WITHIN a few days I have received two letters from you, each of them full of very kind feeling towards me, in which view they are particularly gratifying to me. It is a happy circumstance,

[m] "Vestis linea."

that God has not only given us the same disposition to excite the King of England and his Council to go forward, but has brought it about that our plans should so exactly agree: this, I trust, will contribute, in no small measure, to their success. I am daily expecting the return of the messenger who took my books and my letter[n] to that country; the moment he shall have arrived, I will take care, should he bring back anything worthy of relation, to communicate it to you. In the meantime I have written[o] to the Illustrious Duke of Somerset, and I have shewn him that the Papists will inevitably become more arrogantly insolent, unless the dispute on ceremonies be immediately settled. I have intreated him to stretch out his hand for the protection of Hopper [Hooper]. . . . .

Farewell, accomplished Sir, and heartily respected and dearest brother. My colleagues reverently salute you. In my name and theirs, present our best regards to D. Bibliander, D. Pellican, Galther, and the other brethren. May the Lord preserve you all by His guardianship, govern you by His Spirit, and prosper your labours.

Our "*Consent*" has been printed[oo] here in Latin, less accurately than I could wish: it will soon be reprinted: in the meantime I have subjoined a French version to the Latin, in which no error will offend you.

Geneva, April 10, 1551.

Truly yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

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[n] Calvin's letter to Edward VI. (sent with his Commentaries on Isaiah and on the Canonical Epistles) is printed in the Original Letters relating to the Reformation, Parker Society, p. 707. See p. 242, note ([k]).

[o] This letter does not appear to be extant.

[oo] See p. 242, note ([l]).

LXXI.

À LASCO TO BULLINGER.

LONDON, *April* 10, 1551.

[Latin Autograph in the Archives at Zurich.—Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, Tom. IV., i., p. 470, 4to., Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation now first published.*

BY the letter which you recently wrote to my colleague, Martin Micronius, I am informed, holy man, not without great pleasure, that all is going on well with you; for which we render endless praises to God, and we pray most earnestly that God may preserve and govern you and your Churches.

In this country, scarcely anything new has occurred. I suppose you have heard that Master Hooper is set free; he is now in his Bishopric, and teaches the people committed to his charge. Stephen [Gardiner][p], Bishop of Winchester, has been deprived of his Bishopric, and is yet in prison: his place is supplied by John Ponet,[q] late Bishop of Rochester, a learned man and a favourer of religion.

Not long ago, [on the 28th February,] Dr. Martin Bucer departed this life. After his death, the Archbishop of Canterbury consulted me on inviting to this country several learned men. I therefore proposed Musculus,[r] your Bibliander,[s] and

[p] Gardiner was deprived in November, 1550.

[q] Ponet was made Bishop of Winchester March 23, 1551. He died at Strasburgh, April 11, 1556.

[r] Wolfgang Musculus was minister at Augsburgh, whence he retired on the re-establishment of Popery in 1548: in December of that year he was strongly pressed by Cranmer to come to England, and to lecture at Cambridge, but he declined. (Orig. Letters, Parker Society, pp. 334, 335, 336, 337, 680, 725.) In 1549 he accepted the Professorship of Divinity at Berne, where he died in 1563.

[s] Theodore Bibliander, or T. Buchman, succeeded Zuingle as Professor of Theology at Zurich. He was born in 1504, at Bischoffzel, near St. Gall. He died in 1564.

Castalio:[t] he suggested, also, Brentius; but when I mentioned that he did not agree with us on the Sacramentarian matter, he replied, that he had already been so informed. I could strongly desire, holy man, that we had here some of your [ministers]. I already number Musculus among yours; and I knew some time since that Bibliander is your co-pastor: already the Archbishop of Canterbury has instructed John Hales to provide for the journey of Musculus and Bibliander, if they be disposed to come. If you think it possible to persuade Castalio to undertake a journey hither, I request you to ascertain and inform me of his wishes.

Your "TREATISE ON THE SACRAMENTS,"[u] sent to me three

[t] Sebastian Castalio, or S. Chatillon, is well known by his Latin version of the Bible, published at Basle in 1551, dedicated to Edward VI. Its paraphrastic freedom is justly complained of, though it is excellent in bringing out the sense.

[u] The title of this Treatise is as follows:—"*Absoluta, de Christi Domini et Catholicæ ejus Ecclesiæ Sacramentis, Tractatio, Authore Henrico Bullingero. Cui adjecta est ejusdem argumenti Epistola, per Ioannem à Lasco, Baronem Poloniæ ante quinquennium scripta. Accessit rerum et verborum copiosus Index.* 1 *Cor. x. Non potestis mensæ Domini participes esse, et mensæ Dæmoniorum. Londini, excudebat Stephanus Myerdmannus An.* 1551. *Men. Apr. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*" It contains 123 leaves, in 16mo.; exclusive of the Dedication to the Princess Elizabeth. An Epistle of John à Lasco, dated "Emdæ Frisiorum Mense Aprili 1545," is subjoined from f. 110, a, to f. 123, a. This little volume is of extreme rarity; and is not to be found in the Libraries of Oxford, Cambridge, or the British Museum. I have inquired for it, without success, in the principal libraries of Switzerland. It is noticed in Ames, Typographical Antiquities, edit. Dibdin, 1819, Vol. IV., p. 354, where it is stated that it was in Herbert's Collection. A copy (the only one known to me) was in the possession of Archdeacon Pott, and now belongs to the Rev. W. Goode, who kindly entrusted it to my examination; this was a presentation copy by à Lasco, with his autograph. This Tract was inserted in Bullinger's Vth Decade, which was published in March, 1551 (with a Dedication to Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset), at the very time that John à Lasco was (without knowing the fact of its cotemporaneous publication by Bullinger) printing it in England. The detached Tract is divided into 16 chapters. As inserted in the Vth Decade, it forms Sermons 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th. It gave such offence to the Lutherans, that its sale was prohibited in Saxony (Seckendorf, III., 31; see also Melchior Adam in Vitâ Bullingeri, p. 485). The fact, stated in the letter in the text by à Lasco, that *Cranmer approved and even urged its publication*, is important. It is one of the clearest and most valuable dissertations on the Lord's Supper in existence; and is now easily accessible in the volumes of the Parker Society (Bullinger's Decades, Vol. IV., pp. 226-478, edit. Parker Society, 1852).

The theological history of Bullinger's "*Tract on the Sacraments*" (—or, in

years ago, is now at last in the press. When it lately reached me, with the rest of my library, I shewed it to my Lord of Canterbury; who, on hearing that it was not yet published, expressed his wish that it should be published even though he had not read it, adding this,—that "your books needed no

other words, of the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th Sermons on the Sacraments in his Vth Decade—) is as follows:—In 1544, Luther published his Brief Confession on the Lord's Supper, in which he inveighed bitterly against Zuingle, Œcolampadius, and their followers, calling them heretics, and consigning them to eternal damnation. On this book Melancthon thus writes to Bullinger:—"Possibly, before this letter reaches you, you will have seen that most atrocious book which Luther has written, in which he renews the war on the Lord's Supper. He never engaged in this cause with fiercer attack; I therefore cease to hope for the peace of the Churches. Our enemies, who defend the idols of the Monks, will raise their crests; while on the other hand our Churches will be more than ever distracted; for which I am greatly distressed. The personal danger which now hangs over me is not light; but I am not so much moved by this, as by the distractions of our Churches and of learned men." (Hess's MS. Analysis of Letters relating to the English and Swiss Reformation, Vol. I., p. 20, in possession of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford.) This induced Bullinger, shortly after, to write his "*Tract on the Sacraments;*" which he finished Feb. 24, 1546, (but did not then publish,) for the purpose of laying his sentiments deliberately before Hardenburg and others who repaired to Zurich to confer with him on his doctrine on that matter. The MS. copy is still in the Caroline Library at Zurich, in a volume entitled "*Varia Scripta de Cœnâ,*" 4to., No. 102 (Hess, Vol. I., p. 87). Haller, writing to Bullinger from Augsburg, on April 14, 1546, says that many were eagerly expecting its publication, and that he himself was about to translate it into German. (Hess, Vol. I., p. 108.) On the 11th of March of the same year, Bullinger asked Blauer's opinion as to the expediency of its being published (Autograph in the City Library, St. Gall, Epist. MSS., VI., p. 112, a copy at Zurich); to which Blauer replied on the 7th April, that he "had not yet read it with sufficient diligence to give an absolute opinion, but that, Luther being dead, he doubted the expediency of its coming forth, unless the Lutherans should reopen their attack" (Archives of the Church of Zurich, Repository B., Vol. XXVIII., p. 170). We thus find that the reason of its suppression for five years, was a desire to preserve the peace of the Church; whence we may further gather that à Lasco's determination to publish it in England, and *Cranmer's approbation of that design*, was, the violent agitation of the controversy by Gardiner at that time; and that the continued misrepresentations of the Lutherans in Germany, at the same time occasioned Bullinger to bring it out in the Vth Book of his Decades. Respecting this book Bullinger thus writes, in his MS. Diary (Archives of the Church of Zurich):—"I wrote [in 1546] a book *On the Sacraments*, which I sent in the first instance to D. Calvin, who found no fault with it, but praised it. I then sent it to my singular friend and brother D. John à Lasco, a Polish Baron, to whom I communicated it as a token of my friendship. He printed it in England, in 1551, with this title, '*Absoluta de Christi Domini, &c.*' I myself afterwards transferred such parts of it as I judged necessary into my Decades."

inspection": it will therefore appear very soon. I shall dedicate it to the King's Sister, Elizabeth, a very learned and very pious young lady. I would have sent you some copies, had it been finished, as it will be next week.

D. Bucer began a Treatise on the Sacraments, a little before his death, but did not finish it. He was preparing, as I hear, answers to my [observations]; but I saw nothing of them, though I could have wished to see them. However, as far as I understand, he remained firm in his sentiment concerning the presence,[v] and the real exhibition of the Body and Blood of Christ in the signs, or through the signs. I will send you shortly what he sent to me, and the observations which I sent to him in return.

It now only remains for me diligently to commend myself and our Church here to your prayers. I desire you heartily to salute all the brethren your colleagues, especially our father Master Pellican.

I intreat you, excellent Sir, use your best efforts to induce Musculus and Bibliander to come hither; or, if it be out of the question that we should have Bibliander, let us have some one of your [ministers] in his place. Means for their journey will not be wanting, nor an honest provision, if they will but dismiss all scruples as to coming. In haste.

London, April 10, 1551.

Yours, from my heart, such, at least, as he is,

JOHN A LASCO.

[*To Henry Bullinger, Zurich.*]

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[v] "De pacti præsentiâ"—an expression which I do not exactly understand. Is it not a mis-transcript, by Gerdes, for *reali?*—G.

LXXII.

SHORT EXTRACTS FROM BULLINGER'S SERMONS ON THE SACRAMENTS[v] (Decades, Book V., Sermons 6, 7, 8, 9).

PUBLISHED AT ZURICH, *March*, 1551.

1. THE Lord, doing after the manner of men, hath added signs of His faithfulness and truth, in His everlasting covenant and promises of life; the Sacraments, I mean, wherewith He sealed his promises, and the very doctrine of His Gospel."—Decades, v. 6, p. 965, col. 2, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 245, edit. Parker Society, 1852.—(Tractatio de Doctrinâ Eucharistiæ, &c., f. 13, b.)

2. In Baptism, water, or sprinkling of water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and all that

[v] These SERMONS ON THE SACRAMENTS, in the FIFTH DECADE, are identical (—with the exception of a few editorial corrections, and some trifling variations in arrangement—) with Bullinger's "TRACT ON THE SACRAMENTS," published at the same time at London, by John à Lasco. (See the note [u] to the preceding letter.) *The Vth Decade was received in England by our Reformers with unmingled approbation;* which fact affords decisive evidence that the sentiments of Bullinger were, generally, in accordance with their views. The publication of the "TRACT ON THE SACRAMENTS" was (as appears by John à Lasco's Letter, April 10, 1551) strongly urged by Cranmer. The Vth Book of the "DECADES" reached England a few weeks after the publication of the "TRACT;" —and, that Cranmer's judgment of the value of Bullinger's work was not at all altered when he had had leisure to peruse it carefully, may be safely concluded from his inviting Bullinger to England exactly one year afterwards (March 20, 1552), to "devise the means by which . . . . in England, or elsewhere, there may be convoked a Synod of the most learned and excellent persons, in which provision may be made for the purity of ecclesiastical doctrine, *and especially for an agreement upon the Sacramentarian Controversy.*" (Cranmer's Works, II., 431, edit. Parker Society.) It is impossible to conceive that Bullinger's views, on this most important doctrine, could be esteemed heretical by the Archbishop, when these facts are duly weighed.—The evidence of the general agreement of the English Reformers of the sixteenth century with the views of Bullinger on the Sacraments, becomes powerfully *cumulative*, when the further fact is borne in mind that, thirty-six years later, in 1587, Archbishop Parker, and the whole of the Upper House of Convocation, agreed on an Order (which the

which is done of the Church, is a sign, rite, ceremony, and outward thing, earthly, and sensible, lying open, and made plain to the senses; but, remission of sins, partaking of everlasting life, fellowship with Christ and his members, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, which are given unto us by the grace of God through faith in Christ Jesus,—is the thing signified, the inward and heavenly thing, and that intelligible thing which is not perceived but by a faithful mind.—Decades, v. 6, pp. 968, col. 2, 969, col. 1, edit. London, 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 250, edit. P. S., 1852. —(Tractatio, f. 17, a.)

3. Faith, verily, is the only and undoubted means to obtain life and salvation. Christ is the strength and substance of the Sacraments; by whom only they are effectual, and without whom they are of no power, virtue, or effect.—Decades, v. 6, p. 970, col. 2, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 253, edit. P. S., 1852. —(Tractatio, f. 19, b.)

reader will find in its chronological place in this volume) to make the Decades a *text-book* for the examination of the inferior clergy.—The Court of Appeal, in the Case *Gorham* v. *Bishop of Exeter* (1850), gave due weight to this argument; and even cited two passages from the Decades (No. 11 and No. 20 of these Extracts), which the Appellant's Counsel had pressed, among many others, on the attention of the Judicial Committee: the Judges admitted them in proof that "*there was even a time when doctrine to this effect*" [viz., to the effect maintained by the Appellant] "*was required to be studied in our Church; and Whitgift, by a Circular issued in the year* 1588, *enforced an order made in the year* 1587, *whereby every minister under the degree of Master of Arts was required to study and take for his model the Decades of Bullinger, as presented by the Queen and Upper House of Convocation.*" (Judgment of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, March 8, 1850.) The Extracts which are printed in the text were published, both in Latin and English, by the Editor of the present Volume, (immediately after the adverse decision of Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, August 2, 1849,) in a separate pamphlet, entitled "Extracts from the Writings of Martyr and Bullinger on the Effects of Baptism, in illustration of the doctrine held by the Reformers of the Church of England;" 8vo., pp. 42, Hatchard, London, 1849. He deems it important to call the attention of his readers to the following passage, in his preface to that tract, in which he confidently anticipated the reversal of the Arches' Judgment by the Judicial Committee of Appeal:— "The value of the Extracts from the 'DECADES,' (as showing what was the doctrine which the heads of the Church of England required to be inculcated by all the clergy of her communion with regard to Baptism, in 1586-8,) will be at once apparent from these facts; to which the attention of Sir Herbert Jenner Fust was pointedly invited—though when giving his Judgment, he passed them by without the faintest trace of allusion. I anticipate a very different result

4. I taught that Sacraments consist of two parts, the sign, and the thing signified. . . . . That each part retaineth their natures distinguished, without communicating or mingling of properties, it is to be seen hereby, that many be partakers of the sign, and yet are barred from the thing signified. But, if the natures of the parts were united, or naturally knit together, it must needs be then that those which be partakers of the signs, must be partakers of the thing signified. Examples of Scripture, as they are ready, so are they evident. For Simon Magus, in the Acts of the Apostles, received the sign, and was baptized; but of the thing signified, he had not neither received so much as one jot. And Judas Iscariot . . . . did likewise eat the bread of the Lord, but he did not eat Bread the Lord.—Decades, v. 6, pp. 981, col. 2, 982, col. 1, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., pp. 270-1, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, f. 36, a, b.)

5. Many receive the visible Sacraments, and yet are not par-

when that important Paper, which exhibits the solemn act of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of all the Bishops of his Province, confirmed by the Queen, shall have been produced, (in connexion with other evidence,) on my appeal from the decision of the Official Principal of the Arches, to the highest tribunal of this realm, the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. It is, indeed, an astounding occurrence, that, not only this *particular* document was passed over in silence, but *the whole* of the weighty evidence of unanimous and continued consent on the doctrine of the Sacraments, among the divines of the Church of England—from the period of Archbishop Cranmer to that of Archbishop Whitgift inclusive,—from the commencement of the reign of Edward VI., to the close of that of Queen Elizabeth,—during the half-century which gave birth to and followed the Reformation—was summarily dismissed by the Judge of the Court of Arches, *without examination*,—on the plea that he had no time for looking into such numerous quotations, which he considered as having no bearing upon the momentous subject of his inquiry, and as amounting to nothing more than 'individual opinions!' When the broad FACT is kept in mind, that, for nearly 250 years past, two large bodies of divines have arranged themselves in opposite classes of opinion as to the *meaning* of the authorized documents of the Church, and the respective *authority* and *character* of her Articles and of her Formularies as exponential of her doctrine,—it may almost surpass belief, that a layman, sitting as Judge in an Ecclesiastical Court, should *avowedly* shut out of his consideration the 'individual' views of those great Theologians who established or maintained the distinguishing doctrines of the Reformation; and who have left us an unbroken and a noble testimony, for the fifty years which succeeded that important event, of their adherence (in some instances even 'unto blood') to the important truths which separate the Scriptural Church of England from the corrupt Church of Rome!"

takers of the invisible grace, which by faith only is received. Whereupon, yet again, it followeth that the sign is not confounded with the thing signified, but both of them do retain their substance and nature distinguished. What, and doth not the Scripture expressly and pithily make a difference between the outward ministry of man, and God the inward Worker and Giver of spiritual gifts?—Decades, v. 6, p. 983, col. 1, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 273, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, f. 37, b.)

6. If any should go obstinately to affirm, that the sign in very deed is the thing signified, because it beareth the name thereof, would not all men cry out that such a one were without wit or reason, and that he were to be abhorred by all means as an obstinate brawler? Those, therefore, that are skilful in the things, understand that that is and hath been Catholic, received of all men, and also sound . . . . to wit, that the signs do borrow the names of the things, and not turn into the things which they signify. . . . . In his Epist. 23, ad Bonifacium, De Parvulorum Baptismate, he [Augustine] saith, "If Sacraments had not some likeness with those things whereof they are Sacraments, no doubt they were no Sacraments: for, of this likeness, for the most part, they take the names of the things themselves." As also the Apostle, speaking of Baptism, saith, "We are buried with Christ by Baptism into His death." He doth not say, "We signify the burial;" but he doth flatly say, "We are buried." Therefore he calleth the Sacrament of so great a thing, no otherwise than by the name of the selfsame thing.—Decades, v. 6, p. 990, cols. 1, 2, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., pp. 83, 84, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, f. 46, b, 47, a.)

7. They are sacramental and figurative speeches when we read and hear . . . that they are purged from their sins and regenerated into a new life, which are baptized in the name of Christ, and that baptism is the washing away of [all] our sins. And after this manner speaketh the Scripture. And this form of speech kept the old Doctors of the Church: whom for so doing none that is wise doth dispraise, neither can one discommend any man which speaketh after this manner, so that he also abide in the same sincerity wherein it is manifest that those holy men

of God did walk. For as they did willingly and simply use those speeches, so did they not roughly and rigorously strain the letter and speeches; they did interpret them in such sort, that none was so unskilful but what he might understand that the signs were not the thing itself which they signified; but that the signs do take the names of the things. Therefore they used words significatively, sacramentally, mystically, and figuratively. Now, whereas some will not have the sacramental speeches to be expounded, as though, being not expounded, they were of more authority, majesty, and worthiness; this draweth after it a sore danger, and giveth a most grievous offence; and is repugnant to the rule of the Apostles, to sound reason, and to the custom of them of old. For when these kind of speeches are set forth and uttered to the simple sort, being not expounded. . . . "Baptism saveth us," &c., what other thing, I pray you, is set forth than a snare of carnal bondage. Many words need not in this matter, since experience doth abundantly enough set forth in this place what hath been done, and what at this day is done.—Decades, v. 7, pp. 993, col. 2, 994, col. 1, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., pp. 290—1, edit. P. S. 1852.—(Tractatio, ff. 50, b, 51, a.)

8. The common sort of priests and monks have taught, that the Sacraments of the new law are not only Signs of grace, but together also causes of grace; that is, which have power to give grace. For they say, that they are as instruments, pipes, and certain conduits of Christ's passion, by which the grace of Christ is conveyed and poured into us.—Decades, v. 7, p. 997, col. 2, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 296, edit. P. S. 1852. —(Tractatio, f. 55, b.)

9. This is undoubtedly true, that the Apostles with no other forcible engine[battering-ram] more strongly battered (as it were) and beat down flat to the ground their adversaries' bulwark in defence of Sacraments that purify, than with this, "That we which believe shall be saved by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ:" and whereas in every place almost they add, "Not by the law, not by ceremonies, or other ritual observations,"—do we think that they will admit Sacraments to the partaking of such power and virtue, seeing they be comprehended

under rites and ceremonies, and so accounted? Christian faith doth attribute the grace of God, remission of sins, sanctification, and justification, fully and wholly to the free mercy of God, and to the merit of Christ's passion; yea, in such sort doth Christian faith attribute these spiritual benefits unto it, that beside it nothing at all is admitted to take part with it. Therefore, whereas Lombard (Sent. iv., Dist. ii.) saith, "that Sacraments have received power to confer or give grace by the merit of the passion of Christ," it is of his own forging. For as Christ giveth not his glory to any, either saint or mortal man, much less to a creature without life; even so, he that believeth to be fully justified by the death and resurrection of the Lord, seeketh no further grace and righteousness in any other thing than in Christ only; upon whom he stayeth; whom also by faith he feeleth in his heart or mind already, to exercise His force by the Holy Ghost.—Decades, v. 7, pp. 1001, col. 2, 1002, col. 1, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 304, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, f. 60, b, 61, a.)

10. I am not ignorant of the crafty sleights of some, who imagine that there is a certain general, and also a special faith. The general faith they call that whereby we believe that we are truly justified by the death and resurrection of Christ. But that they call a special faith, whereby we believe that, by the Sacraments and our own works, the gifts of God are applied particularly to every one of us one by one. But to what purpose was it, being in a land where they might be fed with manna, to look back to the pottage pots and unsavoury leeks of Egypt? What (I pray you) have Christians to do with the distinctions of subtle sophisters? Or how will they prove this distinction of theirs unto us? Verily, there is but one faith; and the same is no other in the use of the Sacraments than it is without the use of them. Without the use of them, we believe that we are sanctified by the death and resurrection of Christ. In Baptism and the Lord's Supper, we practise no other faith, than [that] whereby we believe that we are purged from our sins by the grace and mercy of Christ; and that, by his body given for us, and his blood shed for us, we are redeemed from death, and become heirs of eternal life. Not the Sacraments, but Faith, through the Holy Ghost, applieth these things unto us. . . .

To be short: there is one God and Saviour of all; one salvation; one redemption, and purging; one faith, whereby we receive salvation offered unto us of God, in Christ, through the Holy Ghost. The same is declared, or preached unto us, in the Word, by the minister; and is represented and sealed by the Sacraments. . . . . I will add this: that Sacraments cannot give that which they have not themselves; but they have not grace, and righteousness, and heavenly gifts; therefore they do not give them.—Decades, v. 7, pp. 1002, col. 2, 1003, col. 1, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 305, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, f. 61, a, b, 62, b.)

11. Whereas it is objected,—that, by a certain heavenly covenant, it is so appointed by God that Sacraments should have grace in themselves, and should from themselves, as by pipes, convey abroad the water of grace unto those that are thirsty;—that is alleged without warrant of the Scripture, and is repugnant unto true religion. . . . The holy and elect people of God are not then first of all partakers of the grace of God, and heavenly gifts, when they receive the Sacraments. For they enjoy the things before they be partakers of the Signs. For, it is plainly declared unto us that Abraham our father was justified before he was circumcised. And who gathereth [not] thereby, that justification was not exhibited and given unto him by the Sacrament of Circumcision, but rather that that righteousness which he by faith before possessed, was by the Sacrament sealed and confirmed unto him? And, moreover, who will not thereof gather that we, which are the sons of Abraham, are after no other manner justified, than it appeareth that our father was justified; and that our Sacraments work no further in us than they did in him? especially since the nature of the Sacraments of the people of the Old Testament and ours is all one. . . The Eunuch [Acts viii. 36] believed before he received Baptism: therefore, before he received Baptism he was born of God, in whom he dwelled and God in him; he was just and acceptable in the sight of God; and, moreover, he had also life in himself; and therefore the Baptism which followed did not give that to the Eunuch which he had before; but it became unto him a

"The godly are first justified, and received into favour, before they be made partakers of the Sacraments."

testimony of the truth, and a seal of the righteousness which came by faith, and therewithal to assure unto him the continuance and increase of God's gifts. . . . Forasmuch as Cornelius with his household received the Holy Ghost before they were baptized, it is manifest that he did not obtain the Holy Ghost as given first by Baptism or with Baptism. Again, we read in the Acts of the Apostles, 'They that gladly received the word of Peter were baptized.' (Acts ii. 41.) Therefore, before they were baptized of Peter, they obtained the grace of God through faith. For, why, I pray you, do we baptize our infants? Is it because they believe with their heart, and confess with their mouth? I think, not. Do we not therefore baptize them, because God hath commanded them to be brought unto Him? Because He hath promised that He will be our God, and the God of our seed after us? To be short: because we believe that God of His mere grace and mercy, in the blood of Jesus Christ hath cleansed and adopted them, and appointed them to be heirs of eternal life? *We*, therefore, baptizing infants for these causes, do abundantly testify that there is not first given unto them IN BAPTISM, but that there IS SEALED AND CONFIRMED (THAT) WHICH THEY HAD BEFORE." [x]—Decades, v. 7, pp. 1006, col. 1, 2, 1007, col. 1, 2, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 311, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, f. 62, a, 67, b, 71—74, with some slight variations.)

12. He hath promised that He will be ours; and that in Christ he will communicate Himself unto us, with all his gifts. He, therefore, of a certainty showeth Himself such an One, and doth communicate Himself unto us; although He do it not now first of all when we receive the Sacraments, as if He should pour out of Himself into us by them, as it were by conduit-pipes, and

[x] The words printed in CAPITALS, were cited by the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, in their Judgment March 8, 1850, on the Appeal *Gorham* v. *Bishop of Exeter*, in proof that the doctrine of the Appellant "*was required to be studied in our Church*," at this period, with the remark that the Decades contain "*numerous passages of a like tendency*." In the *printed* copies of this Judgment, this extract from Bullinger is given *without* inverted Commas, and therefore appears as if it were the conclusion of the Judges themselves:—but this is a mere error of the *press;* for, in the *MSS. papers* of the Judicial Committee, this extract was properly cited with inverted commas.—I state this from absolute knowledge of the fact.—G. C. G.

were included in them as vessels. . . . As soon as we first believed, He began to show Himself such an One unto us. . . . When we are partakers of the Sacraments, He proceedeth to communicate Himself unto us after a special manner, that is to say, proper unto Sacraments; and so we, which before were made partakers of Christ, do continue and strengthen that communion or fellowship, spiritually and by faith, in the celebration of the Sacraments, outwardly sealing the same unto ourselves by the signs. . . . Now, who will hereafter say that they which think thus of the Sacraments, and are by this faith partakers of them, have nothing but empty shows, and receive nothing in them: albeit we neither include grace in the signs, neither derive it from them? But if any man have any other opinion of God and His ordinances, that shall no more be falsehood in God, or accuse Him of untruth, than if any one should charge a just man with a lie, because he performeth not that which he looked for: when, in the meantime, this man promised not the thing which he looked for; but he, through his corrupt and false opinion, hath dreamed it was promised unto him. . . . Sacraments do neither confer, nor contain grace.—Decades, v. 7, pp. 1009, col. 1, 2, 1010, col. 1, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., pp. 315, 316, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, 67, b, 81, a, 81, b, 340, b, 341, a,—for the general purport, with some verbal variations.)

13. Baptism is the heavenly and public witness in the Church of Christ; whereby the Lord testifieth that it is He which receiveth men freely into favour, and which cleanseth from all blemishes; and, to be short, maketh us partakers and heirs of all his goodness.—Decades, v. 7, p. 1010, col. 1, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 316, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, f. 82, a.)

14. Unless the inward force of the Spirit do draw and quicken the hearts of the hearers, the outward persuasion of the teacher, though it be never so forcible and vehement, shall nothing avail. But if the Holy Spirit do show forth His might, and work with the word of the preacher, the souls of the hearers are most mightily strengthened. And so it standeth with the mystery of the Sacrament. For, if the inward anointing and sealing of the

Holy Ghost be wanting, the outward action will be counted but a toy to the unbelievers, neither worketh the sealing of the Sacraments anything at all: but when faith, the gift of the Holy Ghost, goeth before, the sealing of the Sacraments is very strong and sure.—Decades, v. 7, pp. 1016, col. 2, 1017, col. 1, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 326, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, f. 89, b.)

15. They [the Sacraments] be testimonies of God's truth, and of His goodwill towards us, and are seals of all the promises of the Gospel, sealing and assuring us that faith is righteousness, and that all the good gifts of Christ pertain to them that believe. —Decades, v. 7, p. 1017, col. 2, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 327, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, f. 90, a.)

16. They which before by grace are invisibly received of God into the society of God, those selfsame are visibly now by Baptism admitted into the selfsame household of God.—Decades, v. 7, p. 1018, col. 2, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 329, edit. P. S., 1852.—(Tractatio, f. 92.)

17. All the inward gifts of the Spirit freely are bestowed on us by the Lord only, not by any creatures, not by any elements. Sacraments, therefore, do visibly graff us into the fellowship of Christ and His saints, who were invisibly graffed, by His grace, before we were partakers of the Sacraments; but, by receiving of the Sacraments, we do now open and make manifest of whose body we should be and are members; the Lord, with His signs or marks, by His minister, also visibly marking us for His own household and for His own people.—Decades, v. 7, p. 1021, col. 1, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 333, edit. P. S., 1852. —(Tractatio, f. 95, b.)

18. We do say, that it [Baptism] is an holy action, instituted of God, and consisting of the word of God and the holy rite or ceremony, whereby the people of God are dipped in the water in the name of the Lord; to be short, whereby the Lord doth represent and seal unto us our purifying or cleansing.—Decades, v. 8, p. 1033, col. 1, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 352, edit. P. S., 1852.

19. This is also in controversy. . . . What the baptizer worketh. . . . The baptizer giveth visibly the Sacrament of Regeneration, and a testimony of the remission of sins; but the Lord, by His Spirit, doth invisibly regenerate, and forgiveth sins, and sealeth the Regeneration. John and the Apostles baptize with water. Christ baptizeth with the Holy Ghost . . . even He only giveth all spiritual gifts. Which thing the ancient fathers that they might expressly declare, did diligently distinguish between power and ministry.—Decades, v. 8, p. 1042, coll. 1, 2, edit. Lond., 1587 :—Vol. IV., p. 367, edit. P. S., 1852.

20. As we deny not that we are graffed into the body of Christ by partaking of the Sacraments . . . . . so we have elsewhere showed . . . . . that THE FIRST BEGINNING OF OUR UNITING OR FELLOWSHIP WITH CHRIST IS NOT WROUGHT BY THE SACRAMENTS;[y] but that the same uniting or fellowship,—which was founded and grounded upon the promise, and, by the grace of God, through the Holy Ghost, was communicated unto us and ours, yea even before the use of the Sacraments,—is continued and sealed unto us by the participation or receiving of the Sacraments.—Decades, v. 8, p. 1047, col. 2, edit. Lond., 1587: —Vol. IV., p. 377, edit. P.S., 1852.

21. Of the virtue and efficacy of Baptism . . . . . the Holy Scripture teacheth, that we are washed clean from our sins by Baptism. For Baptism is a sign, a testimony, and sealing of our cleansing. For God, verily, hath promised sanctification to his Church; and He, for His truth's sake, purifieth His Church from all sins by His grace, through the blood of His Son; and regenerateth and cleanseth it by his Spirit: which cleansing is sealed in us by Baptism which we receive, and therefore it is called, in the Scriptures, cleansing and remission of sins, purifying, new birth, regeneration, and the laver or fountain of regeneration; as Circumcision is called, the covenant; and

[y] The words printed in CAPITALS were cited by the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, March 8, 1850, in the Case *Gorham v. Bishop of Exeter*, in proof that the doctrine of the Appellant "*was required to be studied in our Church;*"—with the remark that there are in the Decades "*numerous passages of a like tendency.*"

sacrifices, sins, and sanctifications. . . . Wherefore the promise, yea the truth of sanctification, and free remission of sins, is written and engraven in our bodies when we are baptized. For God, by His Spirit, through the blood of His Son, hath newly regenerated and purged again our souls, and even now doth regenerate and purge them. And Baptism is sufficient and effectual for the whole life of man, yea, and reached and is referred to all the sins of all them that are baptized. For the promise of God is true. The seal of the promise is true, not deceivable. The power of Christ is ever effectual thoroughly to cleanse, and wash away all the sins of them that be His. How often, therefore, soever we have sinned in our lifetime, let us call into our remembrance the mystery of holy Baptism, wherewith for the whole course of our life we are washed; that we might know and not doubt that our sins are forgiven us of the same God and our Lord; yea, and by the blood of Christ, into whom by Baptism once we are graffed, that he might always work salvation in us, even till we be received out of misery into glory. —Decades, v. 8, pp. 1060, cols. 1, 2; 1061, cols. 1, 2, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., pp. 397, 398, ed. P. S., 1852.

22. By Baptism we are gathered together into the fellowship of the people of God. Whereupon, of some it is called the first sign or entry into Christianity; by the which an entrance into the Church lieth open unto us. Not that before we did not belong to the Church: for whosoever is of Christ, partaker of the promises of God and of His eternal covenant, belongeth unto the Church. Baptism, therefore, is a visible sign and testimony of our ingraffing into the body of Christ. And it is rightly called a planting, incorporating, or ingraffing into the body of Christ.—Decades, v. 8, p. 1061, col. 2, edit. Lond., 1587:—Vol. IV., p. 399, edit. P. S., 1852.

LXXIII.

MARTYR TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

OXFORD, *April* 25, 1551.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1091.—English: Martyr's Divine Epistles, translated by Antonie Marten, 1583, p. 84, col. 1.]

New Translation.

IF I desired, most accomplished Sir, to thank you for the vast pains which you have thought well to undergo about the printing of my [y] book, neither should I be able to answer to your merits, nor should I in any measure declare how greatly I esteem the benefit you confer on me. Wherefore I the rather desire that some occasion might be offered, by which I might shew, not in words but in deed, in what manner I regard this your goodwill toward me. Truly it exceedingly grieves me, that in restoring these trifles of mine so much trouble should be spent; and I greatly fear, that the labour may exceed the matter. And I often consider with myself, that through my negligence it has happened, that similar or better pieces should not have been composed by you, perhaps with not much greater labour than may be needed for putting in order my incorrect copies. But such is your goodwill, that you have determined to endure everything, as you will not refuse to your friends your labour. Assure yourself, therefore, that I shall be a continual debtor to you for this your favour, which I despair of being able ever to requite. But God, who most justly estimates the labours of the godly, will not permit you to labour in vain. Consider, therefore, in your turn, most beloved brother in Christ, if there be anything which you would wish me to do for your sake; and you shall find me not less prompt in your business, than you have shown yourself ready and painstaking in mine.

With regard to the young men, whom you commend to me in your letter, your request will urge me, in addition to the motive of Christian charity, not to pass over any kindness which either

[y] Martyr's Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. See note (yy), next page.

themselves might require of me, or John Vimer should demand in their name.

Concerning Hooper, who has now been delivered out of all trouble, you have by this time, I think, been informed by others. I never failed him; and I always hoped well of his cause. He is now in his bishopric; he discharges his duty faithfully and earnestly. May God grant to him most abundantly to reap the fruit he chiefly desires.

Christopher Froschover also conducts himself well. For your sake I will never forsake him so far as in me lies; and I hope so well concerning him, that I think he will not badly answer your expectation.

I bid you and all yours farewell in the Lord.

Oxford, April 25, 1551.

[PETER MARTYR.]

LXXIV.

JOHN À LASCO TO HARDENBERG.

LONDON, *May* 31, 1551.

[Latin: printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, II., ii., p. 674.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

* * * * *

THERE is a great abundance of imported books here; but they all fetch a high price. There is Calvin on all the Epistles of Paul, and on all the Canonical Epistles. There are Bullinger's five Decades of Sermons, exceedingly useful. Musculus on the whole Psalter, a vast work. Calvin on Isaiah; also on Scandals. Brentius on Isaiah. Bibliander "De Ratione temporum." We shall soon have Peter Martyr on the [yy]Corinthians; but this work cannot be had, unbound, for less than eleven dollars, according to the rise of money at present in this country. France sends out many Greek works of the old Ecclesiastical Authors.

[yy] It was published early in January, 1552. See Orig. Letters, Parker Soc., p. 504.

The French [King] has published an Edict, prohibiting anything to be written or declaimed in France against the English religion. These are the beginnings. . . .

Andrew Hoveman is among us; but I see that he has a greater propensity to business than to study. It would not, therefore, be useful for him to be with me; otherwise, for his father's sake, I would willingly take him into my house. I will take care, however, that he shall have a good situation with some good English merchant, that he may become familiar both with the language and the business of this country.

I send you the Epitaphs on Bucer, and an account of his death. He did not publish anything. He began to treat the Sacramentarian subject, but he did not finish it: he entered into a correspondence with me, and possibly the letters on both sides may be published. At last he wrote to me,—"that he assented to my doctrine which I had left in Friesland."

I send you a little book[z] which I have edited, "*De Sacramentis;*" to which is annexed an old Epistle of my own, on the same subject, with which you are acquainted. I send [copies] also to Master James, and to Master Daniel [Buren[a]].

The Archbishop of Canterbury is not a little indisposed from an eruption.[b] He is not here. The house[c] in which he now resides, seven miles distant from hence, together with the whole district, was shaken by a severe earthquake on Monday last, namely, on the 25th of May; all the books fell from their cases to the ground; all the windows were broken; and yet the house remained undamaged. In the town, however, some houses fell down. This earthquake lasted nearly two hours, from one to three o'clock in the afternoon. . . . . Farewell.

[z] In the title, or abstract of this letter, Gerdes calls this, "*Suum* de Sacramentis Libellum;" evidently (as Hess has observed in his MS. Analysis of Letters relating to the English Reformation, Vol. II., p. 59) confounding John à Lasco's *own* Tract on the Sacraments, published in 1552, with Bullinger's "Absoluta De Sacramentis Tractatio" (the book alluded to in this letter), published by J. à Lasco in London, April, 1551.

[a] So Gerdes supplies the surname. He was afterwards made the Consul at Bremen, and diligently promoted the Church there.

[b] "Pruritus." Whether the disorder was that generally designated by that word, seems uncertain; I have therefore left the ambiguity in the translation.

[c] At Croydon.

London, May 31. My feeble [wife] salutes you. She seems to be declining into a Hectic [fever]. Farewell. In the year 1551.

[JOHN À LASCO.]

LXXV.

JOHN À LASCO TO BULLINGER.

LONDON, *June* 7, 1551.

[Latin: Autograph in the Archives at Zurich.—Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV., i., 472, 4to. Basil. 1754.]

† *Translation now first published.*

I WROTE to you lately by Doctor Bruno, who promised that he would forward the letter to you at Strasburgh. Afterwards I sent you, by the hands of Le Sieur de Breda, brother of Le Sieur de Fallais,[d] your Treatise on the Sacraments, which you transmitted to me three years ago, and which you have now at length inserted in your 5th Decade [of sermons]: it was printed here, but very incorrectly, I being the Editor; for it did not enter into my mind that you would publish it at home, since it had remained private in my hands so long a time contrary to my desire. I have subjoined to it one of my Epistles, written on the same subject six years ago, that I may give proof that we agree in our doctrine. Doubtless you have received all these.

As regards the reception of the Lord's Supper in private houses, I think we do not here differ from you; but we teach,

[d] Jacques de Bourgogne, Sieur de Fallais, in Brabant, was descended from the Dukes of Burgundy; his wife Jolande de Brederode traced her pedigree from the old Counts of Holland. Between Calvin and them an agreeable correspondence was kept up, from 1545 to 1548, published at Amsterdam (in one Volume, 8vo.) in 1774. Brought up at the Court of Charles V., Jacques de Bourgogne adopted the reformed faith. By the advice of Calvin he quitted his country, and his property was confiscated by a decree of the Court of Malines. He dwelt successively at Cologne, Strasburgh, Basle, and Geneva. His friendship with Calvin was broken up in 1551, by his openly taking part with Bolsec against the Reformer: the breach was never healed.

as you do, that in the reception of the Supper, it is right, where it can be so conducted, that there should be a public assembly, and a public convocation of the Church: nevertheless, where the opportunity is wanting, or where it is not a public custom for the whole Church to assemble for the participation of the Supper, we do not deny reception of the Supper to a few brethren desirous of it and meeting in private, after the manner of the Apostles who brake bread from house to house; on the understanding, that no superstitions accompany it, and that such private reception do not hinder or throw into the shade the public administration of it in the public assembly of the whole Church. Otherwise, let us at once appeal to Paul; "What! have ye not houses for eating, &c.?" Be it far from us, as Chrysostom says, to desire to make that private, which is the Lord's.

As to that [fellow] Florian,[c] I am exceedingly distressed that you, also, are among those whom he has deceived by his hypocrisy. . . For two years past I have not received any thing from him, nor have I the least idea where he is. I suspect nothing less, than that he is skulking in some monastic cave. . . . I thank you for having shewn him such kindness on my credit . . . and I will see that at the next Frankfort fair you shall be repaid; for I cannot bear that you should be imposed on, even by the varnish of my name,—you, whom I love, venerate, and regard as a Father.

Up to this moment, I have found no leisure to read with attention your 5th Decade [of Sermons]; but all that I have read pleases me. I thank the Lord our God, for the gifts with which he has endowed you.

I have not now at hand the papers containing the remarks which Bucer sent to me before his death, on the Sacramentarian matter, with my answers; for they are with my Lord of Canterbury, who is now absent. When he shall have returned them, I will send you a copy. You will be astonished, I am quite sure, when you have perused them.

I wrote to you lately about Musculus, Bibliander, and Castalio, requesting you to endeavour to prevail with them to

[c] The passage in the text above, is advisedly abridged. See Calvin's opinion of Florian, in a letter to Bucer, February 23, 1551, above, p. 235, and the note (1).

come hither; I would still indulge that hope, but I hear that neither Musculus nor Bibliander can have permission to do so. I think their presence very desirable; but if it cannot be accomplished, at all events do your utmost to secure for us here Castalio and Cœlius Curio.[f] If I could be assured of their determination in this respect, I would take care to provide for their journey, and to secure a decent maintenance for them. It is my desire that we should be many who think and teach the same thing in the Lord. I have instructed Le Sieur de Breda, brother of Le Sieur de Falais, to communicate with you and Master Calvin on certain matters; you may, therefore, trust one or the other of them.

Farewell, dearly beloved brother in the Lord. Make my apologies to the brethren, for not writing to each of them; especially to our father Master Pellican. May the Most High God keep and govern your Churches; and promote and strengthen that mutual Consent[g] of yours, by His Spirit, to the glory of His Divine Name. Amen.

Our [friend] Master Hooper is discharging his office strenuously. Our Church, by the blessing of God, is multiplied; but not without a violent struggle on the part of the Pharisees. Once more, Farewell. London, June 7, 1551.

Yours, such as he is,

JOHN À LASCO.

[f] Cœlius Secundus Curio was born at Turin in 1503. His father bequeathed him a beautiful MS. copy of the Bible, which induced him to read that Holy Book with more than ordinary interest. In his twentieth year, he began to study the writings of the Reformers; and became one of the great promoters of the Reformation in Italy. At the Priory of St. Benignus, he one day opened a *Feretrum*, or chest, which contained relics, on the altar of the Chapel; and having removed them, he placed therein a copy of the Bible, with the following inscription,—"*This is the ark of the Covenant which contains the genuine Oracles of God, and the true relics of the Saints.*" Suspicion falling on him, he fled successively to Pavia, Venice, Ferrara, Lucca, and Lausanne, where he was made Principal of the College, and finally to Basle, where he became Professor of Eloquence; a post which he retained from 1547 to his death in 1569, at the age of 66.—See a notice of his earnestness in religion, by his friend Bishop Hooper, (Orig. Lett. Parker Soc., pp. 85, 89, 94,) and of his frugal mode of life, by Utenhoven (Ibid, p. 595).

[g] The Consent on the Sacraments, agreed on between the Churches of Geneva and of Zurich, August 29, 1549. (See Nieumeyer, Collectio Confessionum, p. 191, Lipsiæ, 1840)—one of the most clear and interesting statements of the doctrine of the Sacraments.

LXXVI.

CALVIN TO FARELL.

GENEVA, *June* 15, 1551.

[Latin: Calvini Opera, IX. 240, col. 2, edit. Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

NICHOLAS[h] has at last returned from England, having been detained eleven days by contrary winds, and having subsequently encountered so severe a tempest, that he narrowly escaped shipwreck.

He relates, that he was received so kindly and courteously, that I have reason to congratulate myself on the success of my endeavours in that quarter. After he had delivered my letter to the Duke of Somerset,[i] and had informed him that he was entrusted with another for the King, he undertook, of his own accord, the office of presenting them, and went to the Court next day. Unless I am deceived by mere words, my gift was particularly gratifying to the King's Council, and filled the King himself with wonderful joy. [The Archbishop of] Canterbury has assured me that I can do nothing more useful than to write frequently to the King: this affords me much greater delight, than if I had received a present of a large sum of money. Many things are still desiderated in the state of that Kingdom. Among others there is one evil, incurable till the King shall have begun to act in his own right:—namely, that all the revenues of the Church are gorged by the Nobles; in the mean time, they hire men of no repute at a paltry salary, who discharge the duties, or at least occupy the places, of Pastors. However, I will not cease to give them all a sharp rebuke.

[h] Dyer, Life of Calvin, p. 286, supposes this person to have been Nicholas de la Fontaine: but others have thought he was Nicholas de Gallars, who was appointed to the French Church in London in 1560.

[i] This letter from Calvin to the Duke of Somerset must have been written about April, 1551. It is not known to be extant.

I did not touch at all on the death of Bucer, lest I should open my wound afresh. For, when I reflect on the loss the Church has sustained by the death of one man, it is impossible but that such a consideration should excruciate me with renewed grief. He was very profitable to England. I expected something more hereafter from his writings, than he had hitherto produced. Moreover, I see the Church now bereft of faithful teachers. Among the Swiss, the authority of Vadian was very influential; but the Lord has taken away him, also. Osiander is altogether mad. Nevertheless, let us take heart, until the remainder of our course be run, and we reach the goal! One thing I fear; lest, while I take my place among the runners, I should, by my example, induce others to slacken their speed. It consoles me not a little, that you, who surpass all others in energy, are so mildly forgiving and indulgent to me. It may suffice, if, not drawn aside by the wandering errors of others, we press forward in the right way; even though others may precede us by a long distance, or follow us far behind.

* * * * *

Farewell, excellent brother. Salute warmly for me your Colleague, and other ministers, and friends. Ours send their best regards to you; my Colleagues, Normandius, Budæus, Trierius, Sanlaurence, both the Colladons, and my brother. May the Lord preserve you long to us; support you by His Spirit; bless your holy endeavours; and rule by His favour the Church committed to your charge.

Geneva, June 15, 1551.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

LXXVII.

CALVIN TO THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.

GENEVA, *July* 25, 1551.

[French: a copy was among Sir W. Hamilton's MSS., from which it was printed by Strype, Cranmer, 892, No. 58, edit. Oxford, 8vo., 1840: another copy is in the Zurich Library, Simler Collection, Vol. LXXV., from which it was printed by Bonnet, Lettres de Calvin, i. 332, 8vo., Paris, 1854.]

† *Translation now first published.*

MY LORD,—I know not how to thank you sufficiently for the very kind reception which you gave my friend;[k] not only in your having been pleased to take the trouble to offer my letter to the King, but in all other respects, in which you could declare that singular affection and friendship, which you had already condescended to manifest towards me heretofore.

As to the young person[l] whom you have taken into your service, I could not have had the boldness to write to you, if I had not thought that his address was vastly better than one might have expected in his circumstances.[ll] But so much the more am I obliged to you, since I perceive that my favour has had some influence in this respect. But, since all that I could write on that matter, would fail to express what is in my heart, and also what your kindness deserves, I think it better not to trouble you with a longer acknowledgment. I will only beg you, my Lord, to consider that I am so entirely at your command, that, if I had but the means of rendering you any good services, I would not hesitate to exert myself to give you proof of a better good-will than I am able to express. I would sooner have made these apologies, or rather these acknowledgments, (if

[k] "Mon homme." M. Bonnet supposes this person was Nicholas de Gallars, one of the Geneva Ministers, who was appointed to the French Church in London in 1560. Calvin simply calls him Nicholas: see Letter to Farell, June 15, 1551, above.

[l] "L'enfant."

[ll] "Quil avoit adresse de plus grand bien, comme aussy on s'y attendoit."

you will be pleased to receive them as such,) had not this gentleman entertained a wish to deliver my letter to you. In this, also, I observe the friendship you have been pleased to shew me, since those who well deserve to have access to you, hope to have a still better reception by means of my letters.

I cannot cease, my Lord, to call your attention to a matter which itself is very dear and precious to you. It is this—that you would always use your efforts and take pains that God be duly honoured and served; above all, that a better discipline should be observed in the Church than has hitherto prevailed. Admitting that it is not easy to find proper and suitable persons to fulfil this office; nevertheless, as I understand, there are two great hindrances against which it is necessary to provide.

The first is, that the revenues of the Universities, which were founded for the maintenance of scholars, are in some measure badly distributed. For many persons are maintained by these funds, who, so far from giving reason to hope that they will maintain what has been built up there with so much labour and trouble, professedly declare their intention to resist the Gospel.

The second evil is, that the revenues of Cures are diverted and dissipated, to such an extent, that there is not left sufficient maintenance for worthy persons qualified to discharge the office of true Pastors. The result is, that ignorant Priests are thrust into such offices; and this introduces great disorder. For the mean condition[m] of Parsons engenders a great contempt of the Word of God; and, even though they had all the authority in the world, they are scarcely placed in circumstances to make use of it. I entreat you, therefore, my Lord,—with a view to the continual and better advancement of the Reformation, and for giving permanent firmness to that which it already holds,—that you will be pleased to employ all your power for the correction of this abuse. I readily believe that it is not your fault that things have not been better regulated in the first instance. But, since it is exceedingly difficult to have an establishment as well arranged, in our earliest efforts, as might be desired; it remains to be ever intent on perfecting in the course of time that which has been well commenced.

That Ministers should have a sufficient maintenance, ought not to be reckoned an injury by those who at this day are

[m] "La qualité des Personnes."

deriving profit from the property of the Church; when it is remembered, that every one ought to endeavour to maintain them out of his private resources, if public means be not available. Indeed it will be for their profit to fulfil their duty in this respect: for they cannot think that they will prosper, while they defraud the people of God of spiritual pasture, by depriving the Churches of good shepherds. On your own part, my Lord, I doubt not, when you shall have faithfully laboured to bring these things into order, that God will give you a larger increase of His blessings. However, since I am confident that you are so well disposed that it is needless for me to continue my exhortation, I will conclude,—after having supplicated our gracious God, that He will always guide you by His Spirit, increase you in all good, and glorify His Name more and more by your instrumentality. Thus, My Lord, I humbly commend myself to your good favour.

Geneva, this 25th of July, 1551.

JOHN CALVIN.

LXXVIII.

JOHN À LASCO TO HARDENBERG.

[CROYDON,] *August* 23, 1551.

[Latin: printed by Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, II., ii. 677, 4to., Groningæ, 1750.]

† *Translation, now first published.—Extract.*

HEALTH. My Albert, I received your letter, written on the 7th of July, only yesterday; and, indeed, abroad, that is, not at my own house, but at the residence of my Lord of Canterbury, seven miles from London, so that I have not access to my notes.[n] Moreover, I have not leisure to write to you at length; however, I will write as I am able. . . . .

[n] "Notulas."

I approve neither the doctrine nor the scheme of Osiander,[o] as far, at least, as relates to the subject of Justification, and the book[p] he has published against the Witenbergers. This is the time, it seems, to sow new dissensions in doctrine; and to traduce the school of Witenberg, through which the whole world has advanced in the knowledge of the Gospel,—aye, to which Osiander himself, were he willing to confess the truth, must acknowledge that he is greatly indebted: but such is the fate of our times!

I am grieved, also, to hear of the controversy among the ministers of Hamburgh.[q] Undoubtedly, I love and venerate Master Æpinus as a brother; but I regret that he stirred up that controversy, "*On the punishment of Hell tasted by Christ after His death.*" . . . .

I am now publicly discussing the Sacramentarian argument; without any great display[r] of the Fathers: I simply explain the matter according to the Scriptures. You will probably see it hereafter. The delay of my "*Apology*" is chiefly due to our Hermann, who wished a change in a few passages written, as it seemed to him, too freely. In other respects, the sum of our doctrine (exclusive of the Sacramentarian cause,) may be found in the "*Compendium Doctrinæ Ecclesiarum hîc nostrarum,*" which I published here and sent to you. If any one should be offended in any way at this, or should call me to account for it, I shall endeavour to defend our doctrine: nevertheless I shall publish the "*Apology,*" at least as far as it relates the history of my departure from thence, and I shall insert in it our doctrine, "*De Sacramentis.*"

I have spoken to My Lord of Canterbury concerning Eber, having shewn him your letter; but he gave me no answer; I will take another opportunity of further calling his attention to the subject.

[o] Osiander's dogma was, that justifying righteousness is,—not the active and passive righteousness of Christ as a Mediator, imputed to us by faith, but—the essential righteousness of God infused into believers. Calvin exposes this dogma in a letter to Cranmer, written in 1551 or 1552, see Orig. Letters, Parker Society, p. 712. See also Fabricius, Hist. Biblioth., P. IV. 232, Calvin's Institutes, III., xi. 5.

[p] See Melchior Adam, Vit. Theol., 113.

[q] See an account of this, by Grævius, Memor. Joh. Œpini, pp. 91, seqq.

[r] "Apparatu."

Almost everything that is written here, is in English; if you wish to possess [such publications,] I will send them.

The sweating sickness[a] has all but overwhelmed us here. My wife was first attacked, then myself, so that we both were confined to our beds at the same time, but the Lord preserved us. Now my wife has again fallen under the same disease, at the house of the Archbishop; the danger of that contagious disorder has, indeed, God be praised, passed away, but the poison of the malady has produced a fever, under which she is suffering at the present moment. The other members of my family are all well.

I have placed Andrew Hoveman in a situation as good as he could possibly wish. If he had shewn greater inclination to learning, I would have kept him at my house: but when he said that it was his father's desire that he should apply himself to business, I procured for him a situation as good as could be desired. He spent more than two months with me before I procured that place for him; but I perceived that it would not be for his advantage to remain with me, when he shewed a disposition to mercantile occupation. In short, he is in such a situation, that, had I a brother of the same age, I could not desire a better place for him. I think, however, that he himself will write to his father.

I have received the linen cloth, and the meal which you sent to me; I thank you, and I have written to Giles, my wife's brother, requesting him immediately to repay you the money you have expended, which I doubt not he will do without delay.

I am called away from writing. Farewell, therefore, my Albert; and salute your wife from me and from my sick wife. In haste.

[Croydon,] August 25, 1551.

[JOHN À LASCO.]

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[a] "Sudor pestifer."

LXXIX.

BULLINGER TO CALVIN.

ZURICH, *August* 29, 1551.

[Latin: Calvini Opera, IX. 63, col. 1, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation, now first published.*

MY ESTEEMED BROTHER CALVIN,—I had scarcely closed my letter, and committed it to that Italian from Cremona, when this messenger delivered to me your eagerly expected and gratifying epistle. I expected no other reply, my brother, than that which you have given, knowing, as I do, that you are never harsh in matters of this kind, so little promotive of piety, and yet so calculated to kindle envy. For my part, in such things I desire to preserve that liberty which I see flourished in the Church from the very times of the Apostles. Our Church had several Festivals, if I mistake not, twelve years ago: when these were abolished, it retained no more than the Lord's-day, and the Festivals of Christ, namely, the Nativity, the Circumcision, and the Ascension of our Lord. It added to the above, the Mission of the Holy Spirit, on account of the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It abolished other Festivals, because our neighbours had the idea that we kept Feasts to Divinely-honoured men.[t] Hence we abolished all without exception, that we might give an open proof that we do not pay devotions to saints[u] with the worship due to God alone. At the beginning of this change, there was much altercation; but it soon settled down into perfect tranquillity.

It is certain that in England Dr. Bucer[v] has departed to the Lord. Also, that Dr. Hopper [Hooper] has been restored to his

[t] "Ferias agere divis."

[u] "Colere divos."

[v] Calvin had already been informed of the death of Bucer, which took place on the 28th February, 1551. On the 10th of May of this year, he thus wrote from Geneva to Viret: "The grief which the death of Bucer has brought upon me, increases my anxiety and fear.....When I revolve in my mind the loss the Church has sustained by the death of Bucer, I feel my heart almost torn in pieces." Calvini Opera, IX., 60, col. 2, edit. Amstel., 1667.

Bishoprick; on which matter I wrote to you lately, if you have received my letter. To this I must add the sorrowful news, that our countryman Dr. Vadian [w] departed on the 6th of April, to the great grief of the whole city and the Church of St. Gall. We, my brother, are preserved for a more severe contest; but the Lord, if he permit us to mingle in it, will assuredly not desert us; He will give us strength to glorify Him, in confession, in doctrine, and in our body.

Write, I intreat you, when you have opportunity; for nothing gratifies me more than your letters.

Ever farewell, with Gallars, and all the brethren.

Zurich, August 29, 1551.

[H. BULLINGER.]

LXXX.

BULLINGER TO UTENHOVEN.

ZURICH, *November* 8, 1551.

[Latin: Autograph, in the Archives of the Belgic Church, Austin Friars, London.—Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV. i., 431, edit. Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation, now first published.*

FROM your letters,[x] written April 9, and August 14, sent together, and received towards the end of September,[y] I conclude that mine has not yet reached you, but has perished on the journey. I regret my labour, and I grieve to think that charity is so cold that there is no longer even international[z] equity among some persons.

I read with interest, but not without grief, what you relate

[w] See a biographical notice of him above, p. 111, note ([n]). A letter to him from Cranmer, in 1537, is printed in Original Letters, Parker Society, 1846, p. 11.

[x] Printed in Original Letters, Parker Society, 1847, p. 584, and p. 588.

[y] The expression which here intervenes,—"nullo negotio"—is unintelligible to me.—G.

[z] "Gentilitia."

respecting our H. [Hooper]. You seem to me to judge rightly, that this has not happened to him without the remarkable providence of God. Peter, humbled by his fall, learned to trust less in himself, and to reverence God more ardently. And this, I hope, will be the end of the matter, even as regards Master Hop. [Hooper], who, I hear, is laborious, indefatigable, and wonderfully diligent in his office. God grant he may continue so, and for many years be faithful to the Church of God. Be perfectly at ease; I will not say one word to him about the source from which I had this intelligence; for I know how important it is to observe a strict silence.

I render the greatest thanks to the Lord our God for the gratifying news, that the Strangers' Church of Christ is so beautifully built up and increased. Thus does the Lord advance the kingdom of His dear Son, to His own glory, and to the salvation of many souls. It will be yours, to direct everything for edification, to give thanks to God thereupon, and to pray to Him for the increase and confirmation of true piety. For Satan rages throughout the world; he mingles powers [in conflict]; and, through the tyranny of Princes, he afflicts the faithful by various torments, even unto death. Let us pray for our brethren. The Council of Trent still holds together, and consults for the predominance of Antichristianism. . . .

I desire to be remembered to that distinguished man, John à Lasco, the Polish Baron: I wrote to him at considerable length at the last [Frankfort] fair, and wait his reply. Long may he live and prosper, blessed by the Lord. Salute him most kindly in my name, and tell him that I am looking for his letter with earnest desire.

Respecting the cake,[b] I do not know what to write, except that I would willingly employ my services for you (even in greater things,) did I but know what kind of cake you mean. I scarcely think you could have tasted that Augsburg [cake] which Master Musculus brought with him to this place; at all events we have none of that sort here: I will, however, ask Master Burcher what was the kind which he gave you [at Strasburg].

[b] See Utenhoven's request on this "spiced cake." Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 589.

In the meantime, farewell, and love me. I beg the prayers of yourself, and of all the pious.

Zurich, November 8, 1551.

Thine,

H. BULLINGER.

To the distinguished man Master John Utenhoven, living at London, in England, his much respected brother, London.

LXXXI.

CALVIN TO CRANMER.[c]

[GENEVA, probably about *June*, 1552].

[Latin: printed in Calvini Opera, IX. 61, col. 2, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667. English Translation, by Dyer, Life of Calvin, p. 282, 8vo., London, 1556.]

New Translation.[d]

SINCE there was little hope, greatly as it was to be desired, that at this time distinguished Doctors, from different Churches which have embraced the pure doctrine of the Gospel, would meet together and put forth for posterity a definite[e] and lucid

[c] Another letter of Calvin to Cranmer, is given in Calvin's Works, IX. 61, col. 1, without date, but written, probably, in April or May, 1552; in reply to Cranmer's invitation to him, March 20, 1552, to join Bullinger and Melancthon in a Conference in England.—Both this letter and the reply are printed in the Original Letters relating to the English Reformation, pp. 24, 711.—The letter here printed was probably written after that intended Conference had failed to be assembled, but before the Articles were finally settled, that is before November, 1552. It would also seem from two passages in this letter, that it was written before the settlement of Edward's 2nd Liturgy, which passed the Lords April 14, but was not used till the Feast of All Saints, Nov. 1, 1552; though printed in August. Strype quotes some passages from the letter printed in the text (Cranmer, i. 589, 590).

[d] I would have adopted Mr. Dyer's elegant and spirited translation, had it not been the plan of my work to present the reader with a rendering as literal, and as nearly conformable to the original, as the different idioms of the Latin and English will allow,—even at the sacrifice of a more flowing style.

[e] "Certam."

Confession, [drawn] from the pure Word of God, on the several heads of controversy of the present day;—I very greatly approve, [Most] Reverend Sir, the decision you have taken[f] that the English should maturely establish their religion; lest the minds of the people should remain in suspense, matters being any longer uncertain, or less rightly settled than is convenient. For which purpose, while all who have a share in the government of your country ought earnestly to unite their common endeavours, still the principal part [of this duty] devolves upon yourself. You see what such a position demands; or rather what God most justly requires from you, in respect of the office which He has assigned to you. In your hand is lodged the chief authority; conceded to you, not more by the extended influence of the honourable station you occupy, than by the opinion previously formed of your prudence and integrity. The eyes of many are directed towards you, either that they may follow where you lead, or that they may be torpidly inactive on the pretext of your hesitation. I wish that, under your guidance, they had made more progress three years ago:[g] there would not then have remained, at this day, so much trouble and strife in removing gross superstitions. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that, from the moment when the Gospel began decidedly to reflourish in England, accessions by no means small have been made within a short time.[h] But if you consider, both what still remains to be done, and how incompletely many things were performed;[i] there is no reason why you should slacken your speed towards the goal as if the greater part of the course had been run over. Not, indeed, that you require to be admonished, (as one whom I perceive to be assiduous in the work,) that you

[f] From this it would appear that Cranmer had addressed a letter to Calvin, which is not extant, informing him of his design to draw up the English Articles of Faith. The Articles, XLII. in number, were finally settled about November 20th, 1552; but were not printed till June, 1553.

[g] Probably alluding to the publication of King Edward's first Prayer-book, in March, 1549.—If so, this letter was written before the 2nd Service Book was published, *i.e.*, before August, 1552.

[h] "If," says Strype, "he [Cranmer] had not been a man of great conduct and indefatigable industry, the Reformation had not made so fair a progress as it did in his time: and one may admire, rather, that he went so far, the iniquity of the times considered, than that he went no farther." (Cranmer, i. 590.)

[i] "Quàm nimis fuerit in multis rebus cessatum."

should not give yourself up to indulgence under the idea that your task has been fully discharged.[k] But to speak freely, I greatly fear, and my apprehension perpetually recurs, lest so many autumns should be spent in delay, that at length the cold of an eternal winter should succeed. Your advancing age ought to stimulate you to activity, lest, if you should depart from this world while things are in disorder, you should be oppressed with great anxiety under the consciousness of want of prompt exertion.[l] I call it disorder, because external superstitions have been pruned so far [only], as to leave untouched innumerable shoots which may perpetually spring forth. In truth, I hear that an accumulation of Papal corruptions has been suffered to remain,[m] which may not only obscure, but almost overwhelm the pure and genuine worship of God. In the meantime, the spirit which gives animation to the whole of Ecclesiastical order—I mean doctrinal preaching—breathes not, or at least not so healthily as it ought. Be assured, undefiled religion will never flourish, until provision be made for the Churches that they may have able Pastors, and such as will discharge with earnestness the office of teaching. Satan opposes the accomplishment of this, by his secret artifices. I understand that there is one manifest obstacle,—the exposure of the revenues of the Church to rapacity,[n]—a most intolerable evil! Besides this dissipation, which is very gross, there is another vice which appears to me not much lighter;—that the public revenues of the Church are appropriated to the maintenance of lazy stomachs who chaunt

[k] The whole of this sentence seems to me obscure, and is perhaps incorrectly printed. Mr. Dyer has left it altogether untranslated: Life of Calvin, p. 293. "Neque enim, quasi te videam in opere assiduum, monendus videris ne tibi quasi defunctus indulgeas."

[l] "Conscientia tarditatis."

[m] This passage seems to show that Calvin had not seen the 2nd Liturgy of Edward VI., which was printed in August, 1552; and that his letter was written rather earlier than that month.

[n] Strype quotes a remarkable instance of this rapacity, from a letter, Feb. 3, 1552 [1553?], by a Divine, Miles Wilson, to Cecil; it is stated, that "at a town [village] not far from Cambridge, called Childerlay, a gentleman [Mr. Cutts] had pulled down all the houses in the parish except his own; and so, there being none to frequent the Church, the inhabitants being gone, he used the said Church, partly for a stable for his horses, and partly for a barn for his hay and straw." Cranmer, i. 592, and Records, No. XCIII.—Childerley is a Rectory, 7 miles West from Cambridge, the population of which is now only 46 persons.

Vespers in an unknown tongue. I will only add, that it is more than absurd [to suppose] that you are an approver of a mockery[o] which is openly at variance with the legitimate order of the Church.

Although I cannot doubt that these things occur spontaneously to your own mind, and are also suggested by that excellent and high-principled man D. Peter Martyr, of whose counsel, I rejoice to hear, you largely avail yourself; yet the many and arduous difficulties with which you have to struggle, seem to me to render my exhortation by no means superfluous.

Farewell, distinguished and [Most] Reverend Prelate. May the Lord long preserve you in safety, enrich you more and more with the Spirit of prudence and fortitude, and bless your labours. Amen.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

LXXXII.

MARTYR TO BULLINGER.[p]

OXFORD, *June* 14, 1552.

[Latin: Original in the Archives of the Church of Zurich, Repository VI. Vol. VIII., pp. 2892, 2893.—First published by the Rev. W. Goode, both in Latin and with his English Translation, in an 8vo. pamphlet with Remarks, 1850. Reprinted by the Parker Society, at the end of Bradford's Letters, &c., by Rev. A. Townsend, the Latin at p. 400, the English (Mr. Goode's Translation with some slight alterations), p. 403, London, 1853.]

Translation, by Rev. W. Goode.

HEALTH to you. I am well aware, most renowned Sir, and to me on many accounts worthy of regard, that John,[pp] when he shall have reached you, will clearly and fully inform you what is here taking place among us. Yet since there are some things with which he is not altogether acquainted, I will lay aside common and every-day topics, and write of these things alone. When

[o] "Ludibrium."

[p] This Letter, though published by the Parker Society, is here reprinted, both on account of its extraordinary interest, and because it may be easily overlooked being out of its natural place in the Parker Society Series.

[pp] Probably John of Ulm: see p. 286.

Froschover, junior, departed hence this winter, I wrote [q] to you what I was doing at that time at London; what happened afterwards, take this account of. That matter [r] which was desired by all good men, and which the King's Majesty had not a little at heart, could not be accomplished; wherefore as yet things remain to a great extent as they were before, except that the Book or Order of Ecclesiastical Rites and the Administration of the Sacraments is reformed, for all things are removed from it which could nourish superstition.

But the chief reason why other things which were purposed were not effected, was that the subject of the Sacraments stood in the way; not truly as far as regards transubstantiation, or the real presence (so to speak), either in the bread or in the wine, since, thanks be to God, concerning these things there seems to be now no controversy as it regards those who profess the Gospel; but whether grace is conferred by virtue of the Sacraments, is a point about which many are in doubt. And there have been some who have altogether held the affirmative, and were desirous that this doctrine should be established by public authority. But when others clearly saw how many superstitions such a determination would bring with it, they made it a primary point to endeavour in all ways to show, that nothing more is to be granted to the Sacraments than to the external word of God, for by both these kinds of word is signified and shewn to us the salvation obtained for us through Christ, which as many are made partakers of as believe these words and signs; not indeed by the virtue of the words or of the Sacraments, but by the efficacy of faith. Moreover it was added, that it was impossible that the Sacraments should be worthily received, unless those who receive them have beforehand that which is signified by them; for unless faith is present, they are always received unworthily: but if they who come to the Sacraments are endued with faith, they have already received through faith the grace which is proclaimed to us in the Sacraments, and then the recep-

[q] March 8, 1552: see the Letter in the Original Letters of Reformers, p. 503, edit. Parker Society.

[r] Doubtless, the publication of the XLII. Articles of the Church of England, which were set forth in the following year. See Strype's Cranmer, Book II., Chap. 27, i. 390.

tion and use of the Sacraments is the seal and obsignation of the promise already apprehended. And as the external words of God avail to the quickening and exciting our faith which is often torpid, and in a manner laid asleep in us, this same thing also the Sacraments can effect by the power of the Holy Spirit; and their use is of no little benefit to confirm our minds, otherwise weak, concerning the promises and the grace of God. But in the case of children, when they are baptized, since on account of their age they cannot have that assent to the Divine promises which is faith, in them the Sacrament effects this,—that pardon of original sin, reconciliation with God, and the grace of the Holy Spirit, bestowed on them through Christ, is sealed in them, and that those belonging already to the Church are also visibly implanted in it. Although of those that are baptized, whether children or adults, it is not to be denied that much advantage and profit comes to them from the invocation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, which takes place over them. For God always hears the faithful prayers of His Church. We were anxious that these things should be determined and established by authority concerning the Sacraments, that their use might at length be restored to a state of purity and simplicity. But it was opposed; and many are of opinion, and those otherwise not unlearned, nor evil, that grace is conferred, as they say, by virtue of the Sacraments. Nor are they willing to grant that little children are justified or regenerated previous to baptism. But when we come to their reasons, there are none which do not most readily admit of solution. Nevertheless no little displeasure is excited against us on this account, namely, that we altogether dissent from Augustine. And if our doctrine was approved by public authority, then, say they, Augustine would manifestly be condemned.

Why need I add more? Men cannot be torn away from the merit of works; and, what is more to be lamented, they are unwilling to confess it; and there are always innumerable impediments, and they mutually succeed one another, so as to retard day after day the restoration of the worship of God. A work of so great labour is it to bring back into the Church pure truth. But we must not, on that account, despair; nay, we are not a little confident, that that may be accomplished at some other time which has now failed of success.

You now know concerning the affairs of our Church that which I was unwilling you should be ignorant of. The rest, as I have said, John will inform you of, whom I commend much to you; for he is modest and pious, and conducted himself well among us, and made no slight advance in profitable learning.

Byrchman has returned to London, and I have not yet arranged with him concerning the books. I hope to send you after the autumn, if I am not hindered, my book[rr] on Celibacy and Monastic Vows to be printed, in which I reply to the calumnies of Smyth. I regret not to have received a letter from you for a long time; but considering the unsettled state of affairs throughout Germany, I am not surprised that none has reached me. But when you have the opportunity, do not, I intreat you, omit to write something. Farewell, and fail not earnestly to intreat the eternal God for the enlargement and extension in this country of the kingdom of Christ; and salute in my name all your fellow-labourers, especially Gualter, Bibliander, and above all, D. Pellican.

June 14, 1552. Oxford.

Yours in Christ,
PETER MARTYR.

To the Reverend and most illustrious man, Master Henry Bullinger, the truly faithful Minister of the Church of Zurich, Zurich.

LXXXIII.

CALVIN TO THE FOREIGNERS'[s] CHURCH IN LONDON.

GENEVA, *September* 27, 1552.

[French: Library of Geneva, Vol. cvii.—Printed in Bonnet, Lettres de Calvin, i., 350, 8vo. Paris, 1854.

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

VERY DEAR AND HONOURED BRETHREN,—As I desire your repose, in order that, being in peace, you may have a better

[rr] See p. 153, *n*. The work was not published till 1559, at Basle.

[s] That is, the Belgic Church, on the site of the Augustinian Friary, Austin Friars. Their patent was granted July 24, 1550. See some account of this

opportunity of serving God, and that you may do so with better courage, I am sorry to hear of the trouble which has been occasioned you by some inconsiderate people: I am doubly vexed that they have molested you under the cover of my name and of this Church. Now, as they have done us wrong in that respect; so also I think you ought to manifest a reasonable and kind conduct towards us, by not allowing us to be mixed up and enveloped in their follies. One of those persons respecting whom I heard complaints, will be a good witness for me, that I have not nursed him in his fault since his return; but that I have rather endeavoured to make him sensible of his misconduct, although M. à Lasco had written me that everything had been forgiven him among you.[t] I say this, because I hear that it has been alleged reproachfully against them, that they wished to make an idol of *me*, and a Jerusalem of *Geneva*. I have not deserved of your Church, that I should be thus treated; but even though there should be twice as much ingratitude, I will not cease to pursue your good. But I feel constrained to call your attention to it; because such modes of conduct tend more to ruin than to build up; and although I may bury such things, I cannot prevent many worthy persons being offended at them.

If those who have stirred up these strifes among you, have taken occasion to do so through the diversity of [your] ceremonies, as M. à Lasco writes me word, they have ill understood in what the unity of Christians consists, and how every member ought to conform himself to the body of the Church in which he lives. True it is, that if one wishes for some different form which one esteems better, it would be very lawful to do so; first having conferred with the pastor, and having freely opened one's thoughts;—provided one accommodates one's-self to the usage of the place in which one is, without calling it a novelty, but peaceably observing every order which is not repugnant to the Word of God. Now, with regard to the proceeding of the two persons in question, I do not know why I should not hold to the testimony which has been given me on the matter:—that is, that

church, Strype, Memor., II., i., 375-382. It is singular that M. Bonnet should confound this church with the French church in London, (in Threadneedle-street, now in St. Martin's-le-Grand,) Lettres de Calvin, i., 351, note. The copy of this letter, at Geneva, has *no* address.

[t] "Entre nous"—probably a mistake for "entre vous."

there has been too much inconsideration, and that they have not observed either due moderation or modesty. But I say this, because it is well to bring such persons to a right mind by mildness, rather than to increase the evil by too violent remedies. Not that I wish to say that they have been too sharply treated; though such a report (in which I place no confidence) has reached me. I think you will not take it amiss that I apprise you of this; observing, that it has not at all prejudiced your case.

As to the other points which they have debated, I do not doubt that there has been some ignorance in their having reproved this mode of speech,—that the Virgin Mary is the Mother of God; and, with ignorance, possibly there may have been too great rashness and boldness, as the ancient proverb says the most ignorant are the most confident. However, to treat you with brotherly frankness, I cannot dissemble that it is found to be a bad practice ordinarily to adopt this title in speaking of this Virgin; and, for my part, I cannot consider such language as good, proper, or suitable. And this is a conclusion at which all persons of sober sense would arrive: so that I cannot persuade myself that there is such a usage in your Church; for we might just as well speak of the blood, the head, the death of God. You know that Scripture accustoms us to another style: but this [mode of speaking] is mischievously conducive to scandal; for to say, the Mother of God for the Virgin Mary, can only serve to harden the ignorant in their superstitions; and he who pleases himself with such [expressions], clearly shews that he does not know what is meant by edifying the Church.

As to the name of the Bishop of Rome, it is a frivolous thing to amuse oneself about it. We confer too much honour on these horned beasts to call them Bishops, seeing that it is a word too honourable for them. The title of Pope is not at all more suitable to this brigand who has occupied the seat of God. [Yet] I would, in that matter, without any affection, follow what is commonly received. The principle in dispute is,—formal prayer [for him]. I know that we must distinguish between the Person, and the abominable and cursed See. But it seems to me, that those who pray by name for him who carries such a mark of reprobation, must be persons who have abundance of leisure.[u] I

[u] "Sont de grand loisir."

impose a law on none: but it is much to be desired that the sobriety of our prayers might shew what reverence we have for the Name of God.

I speak with such freedom as you ought to allow, and I trust will allow, in your brother; for I shall be very glad to be admonished by you, if you should not discover the propriety of what I have written to you on this subject. For the rest, when you have given due consideration to it, and when each has become willing quietly to conform himself to the truth, agreement, I trust, will be very easy among us.

In conclusion: if this vexation has been hard for *you* [to bear], have compassion on *us*, who have here daily much ruder shocks to sustain. On my side, I will pray, as I do, our merciful God, that He will be pleased to increase in you more and more the graces of His Spirit, to make your labours profitable, and to keep you firmly in the discipline He has committed to you. My brethren will do the same; for I know how affectionately they are disposed towards you.

Geneva, this 27th of September, 1552.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

LXXXIV.

MARTYR TO BULLINGER.

LAMBETH, *October* 4, [1552].[v]

[Latin: Holograph, Archives of the Church of Zurich, Repository VI., Vol. viii., p. 2894.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

DISTINGUISHED SIR, and much esteemed by me in the Lord,—Since John of Ulm is now returning to his country,[v] I am unwilling that he should come to you without a letter from me. I must, however, write only a few words; both because I am

[v] See Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 311, where John of Ulm's departure from Oxford is noticed.

labouring under a quartan fever, and because I have but little leisure from other business. Besides this, I am well assured that John will give you abundant information on our affairs, and on those of the Church and of the University. It only remains, therefore, that you should give me the benefit of your prayers, that, if it may please God our Father, I may be relieved from this quartan fever, in order that I may be able to employ myself in His vineyard according to the measure of strength given to me: I request the same for my wife, who is afflicted with the same illness as myself, and indeed much more heavily. I am persuaded that neither you, nor our excellent brethren and fellow-ministers in Christ, will be wanting in this duty.

I received in August the letter[x] you wrote to me in March. I suppose you know that our Celsus, whom you so lovingly commended to me, changed his plan, and did not come here; for it seemed good to him, or rather, as I think, to the Holy Spirit, to undertake the ministry of the Italian brethren at Geneva. May it please God to grant that he may not be disappointed in the fruit he expects there. It is impossible for me to tell you in this letter, how earnestly I have been expecting him throughout the year. I see that the faithful in Christ must be satisfied, while in this world, to remain united in spirit, though separated by distance of abode.

Be assured that John, who is now returning to you, has conducted himself among us piously and gravely; on which account, I commend him with no ordinary confidence to you and to your Church. Salute, I pray you, all the brethren, in my name.

From the Palace of the Most Reverend [the Archbishop] of Canterbury, October 4, [1552].

Yours with the greatest regard,

PETER MARTYR.

I am here at the residence of the Most Reverend [the Archbishop] of Canterbury; in order that those things in "the Ecclesiastical Laws," which remained unfinished last winter,

[x] This letter is not known to be extant.

may be completed: and I have good hope, through the blessing of God.[y]

To the distinguished man, Master Henry Bullinger, the very faithful Minister of the Church at Zurich.

LXXXV.

CALVIN TO SIR JOHN CHEKE.[z]

GENEVA, *February* 13, 1553.

[Latin: Calvini Opera IX. 68, col. 2, edit. Amstelodami, folio, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.*

I HAVE hitherto delayed writing to you, accomplished Sir, lest I should appear to have some other intention than that which is really in my mind. For, since the friendships of the world are of a varnished character, and ambition and vanity universally prevail, and there are very few who cultivate sincerity; we are constrained in some measure to suspect those whose integrity has not been fully put to the proof. At length I seem to have a more than justifiable cause for writing, because, since I have occasionally been bold enough to write to your King, it might seem ungracious never to send a single letter to yourself, by whose influence, under the favour of God, I and other servants of Christ have gained access to him. I have a ready excuse for past omissions, in my apprehension that those, at whose request I wrote, should imagine that I had discharged my trust imperfectly, if I had communicated my sentiments through the medium of another; I was, also, unwilling to be troublesome to you,

[y] A commission was issued Oct. 6, 1551, to 32 persons (whose names are given in Strype, Cranmer 338), among whom was Peter Martyr, authorising them to reform the canon laws. The result of their labours was published in Queen Elizabeth's reign under the title of *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum.*

[z] Sir John Cheke was tutor to Edward VI., and was this year (1553) made Clerk of the Council.

having no previous intimacy with you. If I have erred, you will attribute it rather to my modesty than to my negligence. Long since, indeed, I should have esteemed it a privilege to cultivate your acquaintance, induced by the report of your distinguished piety and excellent learning; but there is one consideration which itself is sufficient to gain for you the estimation of all good men,—that England possesses a King, not only of the noblest disposition, but moulded by your labour to mature excellence beyond his age, who may stretch forth his hand to the distressed or rather afflicted Church in these miserable times. Undoubtedly the Lord, who has bestowed this honour upon you, has bound you, not only to those who gather the present fruit of your exertions, but also to those who long to see the Church of God re-established, or at least repaired by the collection of her remains.

I am convinced that I am discharging a duty by no means ungrateful to you, when I avow the affectionate regard for you, which I have long cherished in silence. However, since, in your splendid station, you cannot need the private offices of the like of me,[a] and since, contented with my humble condition,[b] I do not wish to impose any burden on you for my sake, let us cultivate mutual regard in this transitory life, until we can enjoy it in full measure in heaven! In the meantime, let us zealously unite our efforts to adorn, enlarge, and defend the kingdom of Christ, to the utmost of our ability. For we see how many open enemies there are, whose fury increases, and burns more fiercely, day by day: while, among those who nominally adhere to the Gospel, how few sincerely labour for the promotion of the glory of the Son of God; how much coldness, or rather sluggishness, there is among many men of rank; what stupor, in short, throughout the world at large! Although I believe that the promptings of your own heart render the stimulus of another altogether unnecessary, nevertheless I rely on your kindness to take in good part the suggestions which I have so freely placed before you, and which, indeed, every one of us is bound to revolve earnestly in his own mind. One request, in particular, I must make:—should you at any time have the opportunity of impressing the heart of your Most Serene King with my exhortations,

[a] "Mei similium." [b] "Tenuitate meâ."

I intreat you not to refrain from giving him such advice and counsel as present circumstances may require.

Farewell, excellent and cordially respected Sir. May the Lord defend you by His guardianship, govern you perpetually by His Spirit, and bless your holy endeavours!

Geneva, February 13, 1553.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

[*** While this letter was passing through the press, it was published (April, 1857,) in Constable's Letters of Calvin, Vol. II. 371.]

LXXXVI.

CALVIN TO KING EDWARD VI.[c]

GENEVA, *March* 12, 1553.

[French: Copy in the Imperial Library, Dupuy's Collection, Vol. CII., printed in Bonnet, Lettres de Calvin, i. 374, 8vo., Paris, 1854.—English Translation,—Letters of Calvin, Vol. II. 375, 8vo., Edinburgh, (April) 1857.]

Translation by the Editor of the Gleanings.

SIRE,—Whatever request I might have to make to you for myself, I could do so with confidence: nor do I believe you will take it amiss, if I make a request for another, when you shall have heard the necessity which constrains me, and the merit of the cause which will interest you no less than myself.

The circumstances, Sire, are these.—A French gentleman[d] has been detained prisoner at Paris, on account of some letters

[c] Three letters from Calvin to Edward VI. have been preserved.—(1.) About April, 1551, transmitted with his Commentary on Isaiah; a translation printed in Original Letters, Parker Society, 707; the French Original, printed in Bonnet, Lettres de Calvin, i. 325.—(2.) July 4, 1552, the French original is in MSS. Harl. Brit. Mus. 6989, Art. 83, printed in Bonnet, i. 345; an English translation in Original Letters, P. S., 714.—(3.) March 12, 1553, as above.

[d] The name of this gentleman is unknown. About a month before the date of this letter from Calvin to King Edward, this gentleman wrote to Calvin, on the subject of a fire which had nearly destroyed Calvin's native town of Noyon, but had spared the house of the Reformer. Calvin says in reply, "I do not doubt that God left this testimony against those persons of your town, who, eight or ten days before, had burnt in effigy M. de Normandie and others." Latin Letter of Calvin, February 15, 1553, quoted by M. Bonnet, i. 374, note.

which have been discovered written by him to one[e] of our friends who was formerly Royal Lieutenant in the town of Noyon, of which I am a native, and from which he has retired to this place; to this I must add, that the said gentleman had been already suspected on the ground of religion. As he was a man of some quality, he had been under *surveillance*, which led to his apprehension. Now, if my testimony has any weight with your Majesty, I can assure you, Sire, that he is a very worthy man, of excellent and virtuous principles, endued with accomplishments which ought to be loved and prized, and above all confirmed in the fear of God as much as any one I ever met with. I well know that this is great praise; but I do not doubt, Sire, that, if you had known him, you would have formed the same estimate of him, and have discovered that I have not stretched my measure. Now, being beloved by everybody, great and small, even by Monsieur de Vendosme and the other Princes; there is nothing but the quarrel concerning Jesus Christ to subject him to hatred and rejection; and that, Sire, is a cause to which you are so favourable, that I have good hope you will not refuse to succour him, if you have the means. I know that Your Majesty cannot assist, as it could be wished, all those who are in distress and are persecuted for the Gospel. But when you shall be graciously pleased to exert yourself for him whose case I have mentioned, be assured, Sire, that thus, through the person of one man, you will solace many who are in the meantime panic-struck, while the enemies of the truth are confidently anticipating[f] their triumphs when they have accomplished their object.

But, not to trouble your Majesty further, I will detail more at length the facts of which, if it seem good to you, you can be better informed by the declaration of the gentleman who is the bearer of this letter. I only implore you, in the name of God, as affectionately as possible, and with as much earnestness as if it were for my own life, that you would be pleased to grant this request,—namely, that you would cause a demand to be made from

[e] M. de Normandie, a compatriot and friend of Calvin, sprung from a noble family in Picardy, was Master of Requests and Lieutenant of the King at Noyon. He came to live at Geneva in 1547, was made a citizen there in 1555, and lived in intimacy with Calvin, who in 1550 dedicated to him his Tract "*On Scandals*." He was the Executor of Calvin's Will.

[f] "Cuident bien fair leur triomphes."

the King of France, that he would allow him, and his wife who is also detained, to leave his country, and to retire with his property. In doing this, you will bind, not myself alone, but an infinite number of the good and faithful, to pray to God for your prosperity more and more.

Sire, after commending myself as humbly as I possibly can to your good favour, I supplicate our gracious God to have you in His holy protection, to govern you by His Spirit, in all prudence, right, and power, and to make your crown flourish more and more.

Geneva, this 12th of March, 1553.

Your very humble and obedient servant,

JOHN CALVIN.

LXXXVII.

CALVIN TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

[GENEVA, *probably March*,] 1553.

[Latin Original Autograph, Library of Geneva, Vol. 107, a.—First published in an English Translation in Letters of Calvin, Vol. II., p. 380, from the Collection of Jules Bonnet, Edinburgh, 8vo., (April) 1857.]

Translation.

WHEN I lately wrote[g] to you my last letter—which may not perhaps be put into your hands until after you have received the present one—nothing was farther from my mind than that I should again trouble you so soon. An unexpected necessity has arisen, however, which compels me, even before I have penned a single friendly letter to you, to solicit you regarding a matter of great importance. A certain man, of a noble family, has been lately thrown into prison, whose kind heart and generous nature render him still more worthy of commendation for his virtues than for the nobility of his descent. Thinking there was no danger, he had written to a common friend, who came among

[g] This letter from Calvin to Cranmer, is not known to exist.

us as a voluntary exile when the Royal Prefect was at Noyon, the town in which I was born. Owing to the perfidy of the messenger, the letter was seized. He was arrested by a Royal order. The Chancellor, and some others, were appointed judges extraordinary. Seeing that this occurrence has caused many good men to be seized with no ordinary alarm, and that the enemies of the whole Church are ferociously insulting Christ in the person of a man of sincere piety, it is our duty to do all we can to restrain their fury, and bring relief to such a distinguished servant of God. I was not at all afraid, therefore, of any one accusing me of indiscretion, in engaging in the pious duty of commending the life of this person to your most serene King. And the same necessity which drove me to this, leads me to exhort you to use your interest, as far as may be lawful, for furthering the end of my petition. And while I am confident that you will be glad to do it of your own accord, I nevertheless ask and beseech of you most earnestly to do it for my sake all the more speedily. Adieu, most distinguished Sir, deserving in many ways of my hearty reverence.

JOHN CALVIN.

LXXXVIII.

MARTYR TO UTENHOVEN.

OXFORD, *May* 9, [1553].

[Latin Holograph, Archives of the Belgic Church, Austin Friars, London.—Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV. ii., 666, 4to., Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation now first published.*

ON account of my indisposition, I am compelled to reply, in few words, my sweetest brother in Christ, to your very delightful letter; since, for some days, I have been incessantly afflicted by pain in the side, difficulty of breathing, cough, and a quotidian fever: forgive, therefore, my brevity.

Concerning that young man,[h] I am still of the same opinion; his prospects are as I before stated; let him come when he will, and try his fortune; if favourable, let him follow it; if not, he can always return, at any moment; nor do I think he will ever repent of having seen this City and University. I am glad to have your testimony to his condition and learning; for, the more learned and erudite he is, the more shall I be refreshed by his society.

With regard to your advice, dear brother, on my marrying[i] again, on account of the various wants of life, I owe you and I render you many thanks. I see the snowy spotlessness of your Christian bosom, breathing the purest Evangelical love; for you are anxious that everything should be well considered. Who would not embrace with both [hands], (as we say,) such a Christian mind? Wherefore, I beg you will not imagine that I am offended at your having touched on such a subject. I am a man, and a Christian man; hence I cannot but take in good part any counsel [offered me] by a fellow-man. But, now, hear the reason for my present intention. If I had a family, especially if young and numerous, as is the case with that man of God, Master à Lasco, I would on no account be without a wife; in which view I exceedingly commend and approve the course he has followed.[ll] But for myself, being without a child, advancing in age, and, (as I experienced this year,) declining in health, I judge it better to remain as I am.[m]

[h] Gerdes thinks there can be no doubt he meant Francis Dryander, who had been recommended to him by Melancthon. But this seems very improbable; for Dryander had now been long settled at Cambridge; and came to England introduced by a letter from Melancthon to Cranmer, January 13, 1548, which see above, p. 40.

[i] Catharine Vermilia Dumpmartin, Martyr's first wife, died in 1553, 14th of February (Micronius's Letter to Bullinger, Feb. 18, 1553, Original Letters, p. 582, Parker Society), or the 16th of Feb. (Hooper's Letter to Bullinger, Feb. 28, 1553, Original Letters, p. 99). In 1556, Marshall, Dean of Christ Church, brutally dug up her body, and cast it on his dunghill. (Strype, Annals, I. ii., 48.) In 1559 the remains were honourably re-deposited in Christ Church Cathedral, and mixed with the bones of St. Frideswid, to render further desecration by the Papists impossible.

[ll] This passage is referred to by Strype, Memor. II., i., 337. See below, p. 295.

[m] Martyr did, however, marry again, in 1559. His second wife was Catharine Merenda. (See Zurich Letters, p. 69, second edit., Parker Soc.) He had a son

I am thinking, however, of giving a wife to Julius, whom I esteem as a son, in order that this my old age may be cherished by them both. I shall give him the maid[n] of my dearest departed wife; whose wish it was that they should be married, while she was yet living, this very year. I shall follow up her intention with regard to these two, and take care, under permission, that the nuptial knot shall be tied at the approaching feast of [Saint] John.[o] Now you are in possession of the whole of my plans.

Salute in my name most lovingly Master à Lasco; also Master Martin,[p] the preacher in our Church. Julius and Henry salute you warmly.

Oxford, May 9, [1553]. Farewell. May you live happily in the Lord. Love me, as you do.

PETER MARTYR.

To John Utenhoven.

LXXXIX.

A LASCO TO BULLINGER.

LONDON, *June* 7, 1553.

[Latin Original in the Archives of Zurich. Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV., i., 475, edit. Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation now first published.—Short Extract.*

ALL of you at Zurich, and you especially, holy man, will forgive me, that for so long a time I have written to none of you. I have lost none of my regard for you and your Church; we are

by her, named Eliperius, who was born March 2, 1560, and died on the 10th. (See Zurich Letters, pp. 97, 101.)

[n] Her name seems to have been Anna, and she appears to have borne Julius a son, named, either playfully or really, Martyrillus. (Zurich Letters, second edit., pp. 69, 88: Jewel's Letters to Martyr.)

[o] Probably, St. John the Baptist, June 24.

[p] Martin Micronius.

still of the same mind with you all in the Lord, and we console ourselves more than ever with the thought that we have a mutual consent [in doctrine]. But the cause of my long silence has been certain great troubles and anxieties which the Lord, such is His Divine will, has sent upon me, and wherewith He has exercised me; glory be to Him. Another cause has been certain disturbances, which Satan has excited, and does not cease to excite, against myself and our Churches here.

As to my own troubles, you know that nearly a year ago [q] the Lord took away from me the former associate of my life; I mean my wife, whose memory can never be effaced from my mind, both on account of her piety and integrity, and also on account of the children whom she left me who are constantly before my eyes. You can easily imagine what a deep wound was and still is inflicted on me, as regards human affections, by that event; to say nothing of domestic cares, which all fell on her, but which by her death devolved on me, a man unaccustomed to them, and by my constitution totally averse from them. My health (not to dwell upon that subject) has been so broken, that, when I seem to be well, I am so far from well, that I cannot attend to any serious business except in the morning, without indisposition being the result. This circumstance, added to my incapacity for managing domestic affairs, induced me to think of a second marriage. . . . . The Lord, in his Divine benignity, has mitigated the grief of my mind by giving me another [r] wife,—a pious and, I hope, a faithful companion of my life . . . .

As to our disturbances here, it would be tedious to recount them all. Satan tries every means against us, on account of the re-establishment of discipline in our Churches.[s] . . . .

I have now in hand a work on the ceremonies of our Church, and of the whole government of it in our ministry. It will appear, I hope, towards winter. I am not writing, however, without a Theseus, I mean our Micronius, on whose account I

[q] A Lasco's first wife died in August, 1552.

[r] A Lasco was married to his second wife January 29, 1553. Orig. Letters, Parker Society, p. 581.

[s] A very prolix account of dissensions in the Belgic Church in London here follows; which would be uninteresting to modern readers.

congratulate our Church. It will, I think, be a fair and not an unuseful work. . . . .

Our beloved King of England has lately been in a very weak state of health; but now, blessed be our God, he is regaining his strength.

I should like to know what you have written to Hooper on Predestination: he often promised to send me your letter; he is now absent, and therefore I have no opportunity of seeing it.

Farewell, excellent Sir. Commend me, I intreat you, in the warmest terms to your colleagues, especially to Master Pellican our Father, to Bibliander, Gualter, Gesner. In haste. London, June 7, 1553. . . . .

Yours truly and heartily, such as he is,

JOHN À LASCO.

Give my respects, when you have the opportunity, to Master Calvin; tell him of our sad affairs (*tragœdias*) here; and intreat him, as from me, not to give rash credit to anything concerning me, until he shall have had knowledge of the whole matter from myself.

XC.

MELANCTHON TO ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

WITTENBERG? *July* 4, 1553.

[Latin: printed in Melancthoni Epistolæ, Lib. iii., Ep. 42, col. 522, edit. Londini, fol. 1642.]

† *Translation now first published.*

MOST REVEREND, MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—We know that both these things have been predicted by the Divine voice;—that, in this extreme and infatuated old age of the world, there shall be

greater confusions among mankind than in any former age,—and that, nevertheless, the Son of God shall collect His eternal Church among the ruins of empires. I sustain myself by this consolatory conviction, amidst these tumults in Germany.

We have seen, during this year, the Churches, in that district of Hungary called Transylvania, wonderfully preserved. The Turks brought a vast army of Tartars, which was to have been led into Hungary by the most cruel Prince of Wallachia. But, just as the expedition was about to march, he was put to death by his own countrymen on account of his cruelty: so, that vast body being dispersed, the Churches of Hungary were preserved.

I write nothing about the German wars, because the transmission of our letters to you is so slow; though there are many events *αξιολογα* (worth relating).

I now send to your Reverend Fathership two little books; and I intreat your Reverend Fathership to be mindful that one be given to your illustrious King, the other to his tutor. Whatever may be the judgment formed among you of these efforts of our countrymen, I am still pleased that our people should write with honourable feelings to you: it is, also, creditable that the study of mathematics should be commended to a King so remarkably learned.

May your Reverend Fathership fare well and happily. I send my salutation to the illustrious and venerable man John à Lasco.

July 4, 1553.

[PHILIP MELANCTHON.]

To the Most Reverend, Thomas,
Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

XCI.

CALVIN TO BULLINGER.

GENEVA, *August* 3, 1553.

[Latin Original Autograph, Library of Zurich, Gallica Scripta, p. 19.—English Translation, Letters of Calvin, from the Collection of M. Jules Bonnet, Vol. II., p. 396, edit. Edinburgh, 8vo., (April) 1857.]

Translation.—Extract.

* * * * * * *

THE messengers regarding the death of the English King are more numerous than I could wish. We are therefore mourning him just as if we were already certain of his death;[a] or, rather, mourning over the fate of the Church, which has met with an incalculable loss in the person of a single individual. We are held at present in anxious suspense as to whether matters are to go to confusion. It is meanwhile very greatly to be lamented that Germany is being torn by intestine strife, by wounds inflicted by each on the other. But it is nothing wonderful that the Lord should employ violent remedies for such hopeless diseases. All we can do is to pray earnestly and unceasingly that He may not permit his Church to be utterly overwhelmed, but rather that He may guide her safe through the general wreck.

Adieu, most distinguished Sir, and most revered brother in Christ. Salute courteously your fellow-ministers, your wife, your sons-in-law, and your daughters. May the Lord shield you all by His protection and guide you by His Spirit. My colleagues salute you earnestly.

Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

[a] King Edward VI. died on the 6th of July preceding. Bullinger verified this mournful event to Calvin in the following words:—"I have received intelligence from England of a very sad occurrence. That most pious King departed to the Lord on the 6th of July; and he departed very happily indeed with a holy confession. The book which I here send you was written by him, and published in the month of May. You will see from it how great a treasure the Church of Christ has lost."—Bullinger to Calvin, August, 1553. Eccl. Archives of Berne.

XCII.

CALVIN TO FARELL.[t]

GENEVA, *August* 7, 1553.

[Latin: Calvini Opera IX., 70, col. 1, edit. Amstelodami, folio, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

* * * * * * *

AT first, uncertain rumours flew about concerning the death of the King of England: afterwards more certain messengers than I could wish confirmed this intelligence. His half-sister succeeded to the throne, by the votes of the nobles; but a revolution is apprehended. Most truly do you say, that that land has been deprived of an incomparable treasure of which it was unworthy. Indeed, I consider that, by the death of one youth,[u] the whole nation has been bereaved of the best of fathers. Probably we shall soon hear what is the state of affairs; in the meantime, it is our duty in patience to possess our souls. . . . .

Farewell. Geneva, August 7, 1553.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

XCIII.

BISHOP HOOPER TO CALVIN.

LONDON, in Prison, *September* 3, 1553.

[Latin: Calvini Opera IX., 268, col. 2, edit. Amstelodami, folio, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.*

I CANNOT doubt, most excellent Sir, that you have been informed on the affairs of England and the state of this kingdom, up to

[t] William Farell was invited to Geneva in 1534, on the inhabitants renouncing Popery; but was banished in 1538, when he retired to Neufchâtel, where he died in 1565.

[u] "Pupilli."

the present time, by the letters of friends. The death of our most pious King, beyond all doubt, has been [permitted] on account of our sins. A miserable crowd of calamities has followed his death. Throughout the kingdom Altars are set up; in many places private Masses are in great request; all the services in the churches are performed in Latin. Pious men are in fear for themselves. Our ecclesiastical heads, and all who have purely preached Christ, expect extremities. We earnestly ask the prayers of your Church, and of all the pious, that we may seek the glory of Christ with a cheerful and unbroken mind, and may meet a most glorious death itself for His Name!

London, from Prison,[u] September 3, 1553.

Yours, in the most pious affection,

JOHN HOPER,
BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

XCIV.

CALVIN TO BULLINGER.

GENEVA, *September* 7, 1553.

[Latin: Original Autograph Library of Geneva, Vol. 107, a.—English Translation, printed in Letters of Calvin, from the Collection of M. Jules Bonnet, Vol. II. p. 407, Edinburgh, 8vo., (April) 1857.]

Translation.

WITH respect to the letter, I had no doubt but that you made a faithful endeavour, so far as it was your duty, to send it to me in safety. That Jew has deceived you, however; at least he has not done what you expected of him. He at length arrived here, but alleged that he had been robbed at Fribourg: he could give

[u] Bishops Hooper and Coverdale appeared before the Council Sept. 1, 1553. Hooper was that day committed to the Fleet Prison: Coverdale was remanded, till further orders. Acts of Council in the Tower, 1 Mariæ. Hooper addressed a letter from Prison, the same day, to Henry Bullinger: it is to the same effect as the present, but about three times the length. See it in the Original Letters of the Reformers, Parker Society, p. 100.

no definite account of the letter. As circumstances did not turn out here according to his wishes, he crossed over to England. I informed him that matters were in a disturbed state in that country, and endeavoured to deter him from his design. It was of no avail, however; but he may take his own way.

We have good reason to feel anxiety—yea, even torment—regarding that nation [England]. What is to become of so great a multitude of pious men, who have betaken themselves to voluntary exile in that country? There is danger, also, that we shall hear very sad news ere long, of the many native English who have already embraced Christ, if the Lord do not in His mercy send help to them from heaven. Besides, the same rumour is gathering strength here with respect to Cardinal Pole.[v] Moreover, as I have always heard that she is a very haughty animal who now succeeds to the crown, and cruel withal, there sometimes steals over me a prophetic conjecture, that her audacity will carry her all lengths. You are aware of the rash daring peculiar to her family. She will prove troublesome to almost all parties in the long run. Should she make a weak attempt to alter the existing constitution, she will find opponents not a few. Meanwhile, the Church of God will be in a manner buffeted by manifold tempests. Let us, therefore, as you say, commend this very troubled state of affairs to God. * * * * * *

Adieu, therefore, most accomplished Sir, and honourable brother in the Lord. Salute your fellow-ministers, your sons-in-law, and your whole family. May Christ preserve, guide, and bless you all. Amen. My colleagues—all very dejected—salute you earnestly.

Yours,

JOHN CALVIN.

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[v] Cardinal Pole was at that time preparing to leave Rome to return to England.

XCV.

JEWEL TO PARKHURST.*

OXFORD, *October* 15, 1553.

[Latin: MSS., University Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2.34. f. 18, b; and Strype, Annals, II., ii., 453 (Latin), and II., i., 149 (English Translation).—English Translation in Jewel's Works, IV., 1190, edit. Parker Soc., 1850.]

Translation for the Parker Society.

O MY Parkhurst, my Parkhurst, what may I think you are now doing? That you are dead, or alive? that you are weeping, or

* John Parkhurst was born at Guildford, 1511; was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took his degree of B.A., July 24, 1528; thence he was elected Fellow of Merton, where, in July, 1535, he became tutor to Jewel. He was Rector of Bishop's Cleve, near Cheltenham. On the accession of Mary, he fled to Zurich, where he was settled in October, 1553, boarding for about one year at the house of Froschover the printer, and for four years at the house of Rodolph Gualter. He returned to England, on Elizabeth's coming to the throne; we find him, with Jewel, at Strasburgh, on the 26th of January, 1559 (Zurich Letters, p. 18, second edit., 1846); and in his own country very soon after, for he was there about the beginning of February, 1559, "immediately after the Queen's coronation" (Ibid., p. 119), which took place at the end of January. Rodolph Gualter, in a letter to the Queen, about this time, thus recommends him to her favour:—"I had among the English not a few friends; among these, John Parkhurst easily holds the first place; a man pre-eminent for his erudition, and the stedfastness of his faith, and who has firmly retained, even to this day, that pure faith in Christ which, twenty-two years ago [1537], he began to profess while I was residing in Oxford; and he has so confirmed the same, amidst the sore troubles of a lengthened exile, that he has often been a wonder to me, and I have rejoiced in having such a man for my guest, in whom I might have constantly before me a lively pattern of Christian faith and doctrine. Should your Majesty think fit to honour him by any especial favour, you will do a service of which you will have Christ Jesus as the most faithful recompencer: and I dare engage that Parkhurst himself will be a labourer in the vineyard of the Lord not to be repented of." (Ibid., p. 10.) On the 21st of January, 1560, Francis Earl of Bedford wrote to Gualter;—commending "the godly diligence of certain preachers, particularly Jewel, now elected a bishop, and your friend Parkhurst ..... we have need of these and other artificers and architects to build up the Church of God." (Ibid., p. 83.) He was restored to his rectory of Cleve Sept. 2, 1559 (Ibid., p. 75). "Let others," he says, "have their bishopricks; my Cleve is enough for me:" where, says Jewel,

in the Fleet Prison?[x] Such certainly has ever been the composure of your mind, that I doubt not you take all these things, whatever they may be, in good part. But I never cease to pray for all things most prosperous for you. I have been, however, much annoyed at your Cleeve; for it alone [has brought] this trouble upon you. News with us there is none; we have more than enough of what is old. We hear that Judge Hales[y] has been deprived. Pray write me word, if it be not troublesome to you, what has been done as to Harley,[z] in what condition your own affairs are, what are your hopes, what your fears. Salute Urian, Robin, Halling, and all of yours. Farewell.

Oxford, 15 Octob., [1553.]

Your

JOHN JEWEL.

XCVI.

JEWEL TO PARKHURST.[aa]

OXFORD, *October* 22, 1553.

[Latin: MSS., University Library, Cambridge, Ec. 2. 34. f. 18, b.—Strype, Annals, II., ii. 454 (Latin), and II., i. 150 (English Translation).—English Translation in Jewel's Works, edit. Parker Society, 1850, IV. 1191.]

Translation for the Parker Society.

WHAT shall I now, Parkhurst, write to you? or rather, what shall I not write? I have long been wishing to hear what you are doing; what you have done; in what circumstances you are. Although Cleeve has been taken from you, and all other things

Nov. 2, 1559, "he now reigns like a king, and looks down upon all bishops." (Ibid., pp. 63, 65.) He was consecrated Bishop of Norwich, Sept. 1, 1560. He died about Feb. 2, 1575. (Strype's Parker, II., 362.)

[x] The Latin plays on the words—"Fletu vel in Fleto."

[y] Sir James Hales was committed to prison October 6, 1553. (Foxe, VI., 395, 543, 585, 688.)

[z] Harley, Bishop of Hereford, appeared in Mary's first Parliament, but was soon after deprived.

[aa] This and the preceding letter of Jewel (though already published by the Parker Society,) are here reprinted; as being the earliest known letters of that eminent man, and as possessing peculiar interest, from having been written at moments of great excitement.

changed, yet I hope and trust that mind of yours can be neither taken away from you nor changed. . . . . [a] Job, when he had lost much more, and was cast down from a much higher position, still retained his trust in God and pious temper. "Though," says he, "he slay me, yet will I trust in him." But why should I say all this to you, to whom it is enough to have Christ alone, who ought to be instead of everything to us? Farewell, and reply either in writing, or, if that be impossible, by a message. Salute Urian in my name.

Your

JOHN JEWEL.

Oxford, 22 October [1553].

XCVII.

MARTYR TO CALVIN.

STRASBURGH, *November* 3, 1553.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1091.—English Translation by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, Lond., 1583, p. 92, col. 1.]

New Translation.

BY what means, most honourable Sir, God has plucked me from the lion's mouth, even I myself do not yet certainly know, much less am I able to inform you. But, as Peter, brought out of prison by an angel, thought he saw in a dream what was done, so I as yet scarcely think it true that I have escaped. But here I am at Strasburgh safe and sound. This I have wished at the earliest moment to certify you, that you, together with me and other good brethren, may give thanks to God, and may earnestly exhort your godly Church to endeavour by their most ardent prayers to obtain the assistance of God, by which the heavy calamities that afflict the English Church may be assuaged. There the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops

[a] A mutilated, and probably incorrect sentence, occurs here, which it is impossible to translate:—"Hæc.....sunt, quam olim sedentem.....pinxit; quod stare nunquam didicisset."

of Worcester and Exeter, with nearly all the other learned and godly preachers, are, for the sake of the Gospel in bonds, and with many other holy men, placed in the most extreme danger. I know that these things, according to your godliness, will be grievous to your ears; but now I will tell you of two things, which may slightly mitigate your trouble.

First, although the infirmity of some may betray itself, yet there is a great constancy of many more than we had thought; so that I doubt not we shall have many famous martyrs, if Winchester, who now has universal power, shall begin to rage according to his passion. Secondly, it is the judgment of almost all men, that this calamity will not be of long continuance; who, in proportion to their wisdom, have no light reasons for entertaining an opinion to that effect. Wherefore let us also desire God, that he would speedily bruise Satan under the feet of his Church.

Regarding myself, I am still uncertain whether I shall still reside here at Strasburgh. Perhaps the controversy about the Sacrament will slightly hinder me; but concerning this I am not much troubled. It does not seem a slender matter, that the better and more learned men wish to retain me. But, wheresoever God shall call me, thither I will readily betake myself. Yet this has not a little grieved me, that James Sturmius, to whom both the State and our school are much indebted, departed the very same day on which I entered this city,—namely, October the 30th. And it is thought that his brother,—to wit, Peter Sturmius,—is to be chosen in his stead among the masters of the school. But John Sturmius, the governor of the school, labours by all means to keep me here. What, however, he will obtain I know not. This, nevertheless, I must mention, that it was my purpose in my journey to go to Geneva, and there, for a little while, to enjoy your society; but the winter, which is now overtaking us, deterred me from that more lengthened route. But what I have now deferred I certainly hope I shall accomplish next spring: and if you think that I can do anything to oblige you, only admonish me, and it will be sufficient. I wish you to fare well in the Lord, and to be long preserved as a prop to the Church of Christ.

Strasburgh, November 3, 1553.

PETER MARTYR.

XCVIII.

JOHN À LASCO TO HARDENBERG.

EMBDEN, *December* 12, 1553.

[Latin: printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, II., ii., p. 694, 4to., Groningæ, 1750.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

* * * * *

WHEN you shall have come to us, you shall see what I have written to the King of Denmark and his Chaplain.[b]

The Lord has increased my family by a son, Samuel. My wife has been very ill; her life was in great danger; but she is now recovering. I myself am in tolerable health. I hear that Master Chrysogonus is greatly changed, for which I greatly rejoice, and congratulate him. May the Lord confirm that which he has begun!

There are no news; except that, in England, our [Archbishop of] Canterbury has been condemned to death, and publicly led through London, to suffer, it is said, on the eighth day. However, while they were leading him about, he was firm, cheerful,[c] and exhorting every one to constancy; so that he excited an almost universal grief among the populace; but he perpetually entreated that there should be no tumult, for that patience would enable Christians to obtain the victory in all things, &c. It is reported, however, that five weeks afterwards a serious tumult arose, and is scarcely yet quelled. . . . .

In very great haste. Embden, December 12, 1553. . . . .

[JOHN À LASCO.]

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[b] "Concionatorem."—See p. 311, note (c), and Letter CII., p. 314.

[c] "Alacer."

XCIX.

CALVIN TO JOHN À LASCO.

[GENEVA] *December*, 1553.

[Latin Autograph, Library of Geneva, 107, a.—English Translation, printed in Letters of Calvin, II. 432, Edinburgh (April) 1857.]

Translation.—Extract.

* * * * *

THE narrative[cc] of your wanderings so afflicted me with grief and sadness, that I easily perceived that the events were nevertheless exceedingly worthy of being recorded. Nor do I doubt but that many others felt the same. It was, therefore, in my judgment worth your pains to write a just account of it; and it may perhaps be useful to give it a somewhat wider publicity. For my own private part, I must not regret what has already been productive of fruit; but the information respecting the cruelty of the Danes was exceedingly painful and saddening to me. Good God! that the barbarity of a Christian people should exceed even the sea in savageness. When the rumour got afloat here that a signal had been raised by that king to our unfortunate brethren, who, exiled from England, were in search of a new place of retreat, so sudden was our joy that this single act was sufficient to win for him immortal honour. But I now fear that he has brought down upon himself the bitter vengeance of God, no less than kindled the deep indignation of all good men. And I feel all the more keenly that his mild disposition has been inflamed by unfortunate instigators,[dd] because I had taken such a lively interest in celebrating, yea, in publicly proclaiming his generosity. The perfidy of those who ought even to have smoothed down hostility, was no less detestable than their cruelty. It seems to me, however, that a diabolical fury has seized on almost the whole of that maritime region, and has swept over Saxony and the adjoining countries, so that they show neither bounds nor shame in their mad rage against us. You may rely upon it

[cc] For a notice of à Lasco's disasters, on his seeking a refuge in Denmark, see Letter CII., note ([k]). See also Letter XCVIII.

[dd] I have slightly altered the Edinburgh Translation in this passage.—G.

that it has been a joyful and pleasant spectacle to the Papists. We must, therefore, strive all the more silently to repress what one cannot make public without, at the same time, bringing dishonour upon the Gospel. Seeing, however, that I had no doubt at all but that the intemperance of that party was hateful to men of learning and forbearance, I was led to think that I should not be altogether silent; and certainly it was not my fault that some expedient was not adopted by us at the very first for putting a check upon them. It appeared otherwise to our very excellent brother Bullinger, who was placing victory in silence and patient endurance. I desisted from pushing the matter, lest my assiduity might cause trouble or breed mistrust. Doubtful of the propriety of such a course, he has changed his mind of late, I think,[dd] and has exhorted me of his own accord to repel their foul calumnies in a short tract. This I have promised to do. But as I was busily engaged with Genesis up to the time of the markets, and as I required the general assent of those whose defence I had undertaken, I have done nothing to it as yet. But as soon as I can set about it, I hope to produce my thoughts[dd] without much delay. But to return to yourself, revered brother, I think you have set an example doubly praiseworthy, in that yourself and your companions have contended with the savage ferocity and haughtiness of that beast with no less calm discretion than composed dignity, and have besides preserved the same even tenor of moderation as often as others of a similar character have turned their cruel attacks against you. So noble, indeed, has been your defence of truth, that already tossed about roughly both by sea and land, you have not thought it a hardship again to undergo a new exile for its cause; and by this steadfastness you have offered alike a sweet sacrifice to God, and set a useful example to all pious men. I rejoice that the Lord has again at length looked down upon you, so that you have found a tranquil haven, in which you may not only find rest but also employ yourselves in profitable labour in the cause of God and of His Church. May the Lord enrich that very illustrious Lady[c] with every blessing, who has extended her maternal hand to you so kindly and graciously.

JOHN CALVIN.

[c] The Countess D'Embden; who, after Calvin's death, engaged in a pious correspondence with Beza.

C.

MARTYR TO LOUIS LAVATER.

STRASBURGH, *January* 1, 1554.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1092.—English Translation by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, Lond., 1583, p. 110, col. 2.]

New Translation.

I HAVE been not a little delighted, most honourable brother, with your very courteous letter; for, by your rejoicing with me because of my deliverance from English perils, you have avowed your exceeding love toward me; this, although it was well known to me before, has now, however, been made far more manifest.

I am still remaining at Strasburgh: but I have not yet determined what I shall do. When I have resolved on this, I will take means that you also shall be informed. They have not yet restored me here to my former state. And what the hindrance is, that I have not been hitherto received, yourself can better conjecture, than it is convenient or safe to explain in a letter. But if it happen that I remain, I will not suffer my lips or tongue to be deprived of that liberty of speech to which you exhort me, using, nevertheless, becoming moderation and opportunity. Therefore, if it shall happen that I labour here in the field of the Lord, I hope I shall, by my prayers and by the prayers of yourselves and other worthy brethren, obtain from God the gathering at length fruit not to be repented of.

For the lodging in your house, should I go thither, which you willingly offer, I thank you, nor do I despise your gift, or rather courtesy. Therefore, if I come, my staying with you will easily be brought to pass. As to the publishing my books, we will further treat at another time more at leisure. In the meantime live and farewell in Christ; and mention that I salute and pray for all your associates and fellow-ministers, but especially John of Ulm, when you shall see him.

Strasburgh, December 30, 1553.

[PETER MARTYR.]

It has been at length resolved, that I remain here at Strasburgh, and they restore to me the former place, which I had before my departure from hence to England.

January 1, 1554.

CI.

PETER DELŒNY[d] TO JOHN À LASCO.

[LONDON,] *February*, 1554.

[Latin Original in the Archives of the Belgic Church, Austin Friars; printed in Gerdes, Annales Evangelii Sæc., XVI. renov., Tom. III., Monumenta, No. XIII., p. (134), 4to., Groningæ, 1749.]

† *Translation now first published.*

P.[*eter*] D.[*elœny*], to Master John à Lasco, the Seniors and Deacons, with the rest of the Brethren, grace and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, in love and truth.

Praised be God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of all consolation and the Father of mercy, who, through His unspeakable love towards the human race, does not cease to comfort us, justly afflicted on account of our sins,—either us, here, under the heavy load of the cross and in danger of our lives,—or you, yonder, in the public ministry of the word and in quietness, after no small trials of your flesh by your long and protracted passage[e] into Denmark. The holy will of the Most

[d] Peter Delœny was son of Walter Delœny, one of the four Ministers of the Belgian or Foreigners' Church in Austin Friars. Walter Delœny is so named in the Charter for that Church, 4th July, 4 Edw. VI., printed in Burnet, Hist. Reform., Vol. II., P. ii., p. 283, and by Gerdes, Annales, Evang. Sæc., XVI., Tom. III., p. 227. It is not stated that Peter Delœny wrote this letter; but Gerdes justly says, there can be "*no doubt*" as to its author, both from the matter of it, and from the initials P. D.

[e] At the Marian persecution, John à Lasco and about 175 persons, Belgians, French, English, and Scotch, sailed in two vessels from the Thames, 15th Sep., 1553; and after being driven about for seven weeks in a tempest, came to the coast of Denmark. The bigotry of the Lutherans prevented their being allowed to land. At length they settled at Embden. See note ([k]), p. 314.

High, in this respect, is indeed according to equity, for he chastens His own that they may not perish with the world, and judgment begins from the house of God. May the Lord grant to His servants true knowledge of His will, patience under the cross, perseverance and constancy in the profession of the truth; for he that endureth unto the end, the same shall be saved.

As to our present state, it can be better made known to you by our brethren, than written, πολυκινδυνωτατα γαρ παντα [for all things are very full of danger]; since up to this moment we have preserved our lives with considerable difficulty, in the midst of those mighty waves which toss the apostolic vessel.

We remain in Capernaum, formerly exalted unto heaven, but now brought down to hell; but we remain, not without the singular care of God for us, under an altogether miraculous benevolence and guardianship. Behold, we have not lost a single hair, and yet our enemies are almost as many as our hairs; so many Judas Iscariots are there every where; false, pseudo-evangelical brethren; so many devils of craft[f] to take us; such a host of Antichristians,—and yet we are hitherto safe! O the miraculous guardianship of God towards us! Moreover, he has wonderfully opened a great door of the word for us (—albeit with the peril of life—), in spite of the Devil and all his sanguinary ministers, in spite of Antichrist and all his members. Truly the Lord Jesus has the key of David; he shutteth and no one openeth; again he openeth and no one shutteth. We rejoice, even in extreme danger of our lives, through our Lord Jesus Christ. We have the greatest liberty in the word of the Lord, without any respect of persons.

We speak from *Succoth Mahanaim*[g] [*Booths of two camps*], since the Lord our God has pitched the tents of Angels around us. Our minds are more peaceful than a year ago, when, the door of the ministry being shut against us, we acquiesced with an unwilling mind, with the greatest grief of heart, with sighs and groans. Woe to the minister who does not preach the Gospel, by some ways and means, provided it be truly, and for the glory of God and the edification of His Church. I desire that not only the truth should be declared, but that in all things the sincerity of the truth should be asserted without respect of

[f] "Diaboli astutiæ."

[g] Compare Gen. xxxii. 2, with xxxiii. 17.

persons: for the Lord hates the *Hybrids* of religion. I desire that the Church should be restored as purely as possible. I desire that Christ Jesus, the sole, supreme, eternal, and only Teacher and Prophet of His Church, should be heard, *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*—[always, every where, and by all]. I desire that all ministers should speak from His mouth alone, seeking His single glory; for He is the only Master of the faith of religion and of His Church.

Dearly beloved brethren, we should be glad to learn your condition, and the state of your dispersed Church, by a letter transmitted to us through some faithful messenger. Thus we should know what step we ought hereafter to take, whether to remain, or to pass over [to you]; as we may be induced by the knowledge of the state of our Church, and by your counsel. Which is the most useful and necessary, for the glory of God and the edification of the pious? Although, it does seem [to me] to be the most useful and necessary, at present, to remain among the English brethren; since, in such an abundant harvest of people, there is such a paucity and rareness of labourers, and such a wonderful eagerness among the people to hear the word, that it is delightful to use every effort to indulge their desire. With your permission, therefore, kind Brethren, I will remain among my sorrowful English Brethren, and stick to this place, even at the peril of my life. Accept this Apology for my appearing to desert the Church, which I am unable to collect as being dispersed in so many parts: in fact, I should find it difficult to say *where* our Church is.[h]

Farewell in the Lord. All the pious here salute you. Salute the brethren in the Lord, and chiefly that excellent and learned man, William Gnaph.

In the month of February of the year, from the Virgin's parturition, 1554. From ungrateful Jerusalem, or (if it pleases you,) from Former Capernaum.

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[h] Some of the brethren had settled in Embden, in March, 1554; some went to Dantzic; some to Frankfort; some to Strasburgh, some to Wismar. See Gerdes, Annales, III. 277. See also, below, John à Lasco's Letter to Bullinger, March 6, 1554.

CII.

A LASCO TO BULLINGER AND THE ZURICH MINISTERS.

[1]EMBDEN, *March* 6, 1554.

[Original in the Archives at Zurich, Cist. C. Epistles, Vol. III., p. 277, &c. Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV., i. 481.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

DOUBTLESS, highly esteemed brethren in the Lord, you greatly desire to hear something about us, since we left England, on the dispersion of our Churches. You will readily believe, on the other hand, that we should have been no less desirous, during the whole of this time, of writing to you, if we could any way have done so; not only in order that we might lessen your anxiety about us, (which we feel assuredly by your piety has been very great,) but that we might have the consolation of your prayers and your sympathizing sighs, and be instructed and confirmed by you in those troubles and conflicts by which the Lord our God has seen fit to prove and try us, to the glory (I trust) of His Son: to Him be glory for ever. Amen. We have not, however, hitherto had the opportunity; but now, since a person offers to carry our letters to you as far as Strasburgh, from whence we are assured they will easily find their way at length to you, I cannot refrain from writing to salute you all, hastily indeed for want of more time, but most ardently and affectionately.

When I inform you of our Danish journey,[k] and all its circum-

[1] Hess, in his MSS. Catal., &c., II., 77, gives the date, March 3.

[k] A Lasco embarked at Gravesend, September 15, 1553, with 175 persons, members of the Belgic or Foreigners' Church in London. The vessel encountered a storm, and entered the port of Elsinore in a wrecked condition. The King of Denmark was not unfavourable, but his Chaplain, Noviomagus, a bigotted ultra-Lutheran, persuaded that Prince to order his re-embarcation. (Krasinski, Geschichte der Reformation in Polen; London, 1841.) Not even the women, with infants at the breast, were allowed to wait for calmer weather. Westphal called the members of A Lasco's exiled community, "the Devil's

stances, you will join with us in rendering thanks to the Lord our God, for his Divine goodness and mercy to us; who never was wanting to us in our troubles and conflicts, but mightily stood by us, and manifested His Divine strength in our weakness. I omit the detail[1] of our journey, up to the moment when we were dismissed, or rather thrust out, by the King of Denmark; from which you may see in what way our Antagonists have dwelt with us in the Sacramentarian matter; and you will easily understand, what is their disposition, what their integrity, and what is to be expected from them by all pious men. May the Lord forgive them, and bring them at last by His grace to repentance.

My journey is not finished; nor can it be, until those who are yet dispersed shall have rejoined us. Our Martin Micronius is at Wismar in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, with the greater part of our dispersed Church: others are at Lubec: others at Hamburg; but in a short time all will re-assemble here. I have not decided whether I shall remain here;[m] but I shall wait till all our people shall have met, who perhaps may no longer have need of my ministry here; for possibly they may join themselves to this Church, which has its own ministers, and so, I hope, I may be at liberty.[n] . . . .

martyrs." Bugenhagen refused to acknowledge them as Christians; and they were told that Papists were more tolerable than they. A Lasco's children, only, were allowed to remain in Hamburgh till the spring. The hatred of these extreme-Lutherans pursued the wanderers not only in that city, but in Lübeck and Rostock. At length they found refuge in Dantzig; and A Lasco was honourably received at Embden, through the influence of the Countess Anna of Oldenburg. Utenhoven gave an account of their sufferings, preceded by a preface by A Lasco. See also Pontoppidan, Annales, iii., s. 317, 24. See some account, also, in Martyr's Letter to Bullinger, Feb. 24, 1554, Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 512.

[1] "Sylvam."

[m] Gerdes gives (p. 484) another letter from A Lasco to Bullinger, Embden, October 5, 1554, in which he says:—I have now in the press, "*Ratio gubernandi nostram in Angliâ Ecclesiam, cum ejus ritibus ac ceremoniis.*" Also a letter to Bullinger (p. 485), dated Frankfort, June 8, 1555; in which he gives an account of his leaving Embden, by reason of the opposition of the Magistracy there. Also, another (p. 490), dated Frankfort, Sept. 19, 1555, in which he states his success in having established a Flemish Church there, by permission of the Magistrates.

[n] The rest of the letter adverts to an abusive book which Joachim Westphal had just published against A Lasco's opinions on the Lord's Supper.

I commend myself and our dispersed Church to your prayers. May you all prosper well and happily in the Lord.

Embden in Friesland, March 6, 1554.

Yours heartily, such as he is,

JOHN À LASCO.

CIII.

MARTYR TO CALVIN.

STRASBURGH, *May* 9, [1554.]

[Latin: Martyris Epistolæ Theologicæ, edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1092. Also in Calvini Opera, p. 92, col. 1, edit. Amstelodami, 1667.—English Translation in Martyr's Divine Epistles, Lond., 1583, p. 1092, col. 2.]

New Translation.

ABOUT the feast of Easter I sent a letter to you,° most honourable Sir, brought by a young nobleman of Hungary, who was slain not far from Schlestadt. Therefore, when so melancholy an incident happened, it could not be brought to you. And I consider that I need not repeat what I had then known and written, since I doubt not that you have heard of these matters from some other quarter.

Most sad tidings have been brought from England to this place,—namely, that the Parliament (as they call it) has there agreed that the Pope's most tyrannical government be restored, and that Philip be recognised as King of England. The good men, who are able to depart, flee from thence on all sides. And I cannot by any means express, how great is the disturbance of affairs. And now there are here among us three most distinguished knights, namely, Morison, Cheke, and Cook, not less conspicuous for godliness than for learning, who, I think, within a few days will come [to you]. These things I therefore write, that you, together with your Church, may be willing to aid with your prayers that state, not only afflicted, but nearly destroyed. Certainly the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other bishops

° This letter is not known to exist. Easter-day fell on March 24 in 1554.

who are together kept in prison, are at this time in the most extreme danger.

We are living here peaceably with regard to outward matters. And now we seem to be delivered from fear about our French Church; whereas many before suspected, that some change would be made in doctrine and administration of the Sacraments. That has not been, and, as I trust, will not be done. Would that the contention of some against their pastor might be removed. But I do trust, that it will at length be quieted, and, as I judge, will more easily be laid to rest by refraining from an expression of their opinion,[p] than by violent and forcible resistance. And this evil also has need of prayers. Finally, I wish you to know that I, with other good men, have been greatly grieved by the very foolish and false reports spread against the truth and your name, concerning the eternal election of God, and concerning heretics not being put to death.[pp] But it is well, that in what they write, as we understand, they dare not confess their names. I said, as we understand, because there has not been even one of these anonymous books brought hither to Strasburgh. We in this place, especially Zancus and myself, whenever we are appealed to, defend your cause and that of the truth, to our utmost ability, both in public and private.

How Master à Lasco has been ill received in Denmark and the churches of Saxony, I think you will be able to learn by the bearer of this my letter.

Farewell, and pray for us. Zancus greatly salutes you. In like manner I beg you to salute Martinengus, and also Galeatius, the Marquis, and N.

Strasburgh, May 9 [1554].

[PETER MARTYR.]

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[p] I have altered the Edinburgh translation,—"*dissembling* their opinion,"—which scarcely expresses Martyr's meaning.

[pp] Latin: "De hæreticis extremo supplicio non afficiendis."—It is lamentable to find such a sentiment held by such a man as Peter Martyr. But the principle of religious toleration was not fully known or embraced by *any* party in that age.

CIV.

MARTYR TO A FRIEND.

STRASBURGH, *June* 26, 1554.

[Latin: printed in Petri Martyris Epistolæ Theologicæ, edit. folio, London, 1583, p. 1093, at the end of the "Loci Communes."—English Translation in Martyr's Divine Epistles, by Anthonie Marten, p. 95, col. 1, folio, London, 1583.]

New Translation.

IT is indeed, as you write,—most honourable Sir, dear to me with singular love in Christ,—and I am daily more and more taught by very experience, that the bodily death of that most godly youth, Edward, King of England, pertains to many parts of the Church, and brings greater injury than many now perceive. But may God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, grant that within a short time they feel it not to their great sorrow. I were, indeed, like stone or lead, having, however slightly, partaken of those events, if I did not bitterly groan over the unhappy lot of my honoured brethren, and over their most urgent perils both of mind and body; nay, if I did not every day follow with lawful tears the calamities of that people, so weighty. While they are now grievously afflicted, exposed to injuries on every side, burned every hour with the fires of temptations, while that Church is trodden down and crushed with the extreme wickedness of hypocrites, how could it be that I, and others like myself, could sorrow temperately or moderately?

While I taught in that land, there were very many learners of Holy Scripture, and students of theology, of good repute, whose harvest was well-nigh ripe, whom I am now constrained to behold, either miserably wandering with uncertain dwellings, or remaining to be most wretchedly overwhelmed. There were in that kingdom very many most holy as well as most learned bishops, who are confined in the roughest prisons, and are even now to be dragged to capital punishment as if they were thieves. There were laid in that nation the foundations of the Gospel and

of a noble Church; and with the labours of a few years the holy building had in some measure advanced, and better things were daily hoped for. Now, at last, unless God should lend His helping hand, it seems likely that not so much as a footprint of godliness, in regard of outward profession, will be left.

These and other matters, my judicious friend, do not allow my mind to be calm or my heart at rest. Therefore I beseech God with my whole soul, that He will remit some part of the punishment, and in some measure forbear, through Jesus Christ, to pour out his heavy anger, otherwise we shall soon be overwhelmed with the weight of vast calamities. And what I so earnestly ask, I beseech you that you in like manner will desire of God, that He will yet at length take pity on afflicted England; which I well know did, before this calamity, very much favour you and other godly men, and good learning.

And, whereas you admonish me, that I should here cultivate and maintain union with those who teach, I consider that you say this to me kindly and affectionately; and I assure you in good faith, that, as far as in me lies, peace and charity shall remain inviolate. I have always been of a mild disposition, and have singularly loved peace and tranquillity. Therefore I shall not alter my temper (if I mistake not), especially in my old age.

Nearly all the professors of good arts and learning receive me with great affection; I also in return love them. Toward the ministers of the Church matters stand in a like manner, except that, I perceive, some of them do not bear to me goodwill: but I do not cease, and I trust I shall not fail, to regard them with the esteem which is due to the holy ministry. Therefore I will, as you admonish me, cultivate and maintain peace; but so that, when any occasion shall offer itself, neither sought nor far fetched, but just and necessary, I will teach and speak what I judge true regarding that matter in which I know they differ from me, and that with such moderation and temper, that I will not rail against or taunt with bitterness any man who may think otherwise. But as to silence being enjoined or a retractation required, I never yet have endured, and never will endure it. For I judge that to be most unworthy of a godly mind, and of a man who publicly teaches the Holy Scripture, so long as it is not manifest from the Word of God, that the matter is otherwise than I believe; for, when that should appear, and I should know

it to be so, I would not for any cause decline to acknowledge and publicly bear witness to the truth.

These things, most honoured Sir, and (as you write) most closely united brother in Christ, I speak familiarly to you, as you see; and I sincerely open my mind and heart, as it is affected; for I have such a confidence in your justice and equity, that I never will nor can refuse you as an upright judge, and honest arbitrator.

Farewell, and live happily to Christ and his Church. Would that I might once at length, as I earnestly desire, see and talk with you.

Strasburgh, June 26, 1554.

[PETER MARTYR.]

CV.

JEWEL TO PARKHURST.

OXFORD, BROADGATES (now Pembroke College), *June* 28, 1554.

[Copy of Latin Original MSS. University Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2, 34.—English Translation printed in Jewel's Works, IV. 1191, f. 19, a, edit. Parker Society, 1550.]

Translation.[o]

GEOFFREY[p] told me the day before yesterday that you were well, and that you were expecting either myself or a letter from me by the very first opportunity. This was not so agreeable to me, as it is vexing not to know what or whither to write: for, as matters now are, I cannot find out either where you are, or what you are doing. For a while ago when I tried to find you at Cleeve, at

[o] This Letter was translated and published by the Parker Society; but it is here reprinted with the correction of some errors which arose from a misreading of the MS. by the Parker Society's Editor.

[p] "CANFILDUS," ("CANFIELD")—with a query, in Parker Society's edition of this letter—the Editor having so misread the MS.; the true reading is "GAUFRIDUS" ("GEOFFREY").

your own house, you were not at home; and, as some told me, you had yielded to the times; as others said, you had altogether fled.[q] I found your wife alone, shut up at home, attended by but a small body of servants, unconcerned about herself, but wretchedly anxious about you. What else can I say? O immortal God! Nothing is going on which I can commit to writing. It is indeed strange that I have nothing to write to one, to whom when we are together I never find any lack of matter to prattle about. I wish I could in person complain to you of these things. But now I will give no cause for its being hereafter said, Who would have thought it? When, however, I [know] where you are, I will write to you at greater length and oftener. Farewell.

From Broadgate, where I am living in exile, and Randolph with me; both of us miserably enough, but better perhaps than they like who are vexed that we still live at all.

Pray salute in my name M. Harley, either bishop, which I do not imagine, or, which I do not doubt, the fearless follower of Christ and a good man.[r]

Smith is thumping the anvil vigorously: there is some danger of his breaking his arms.

Salute your wife, Guido, and the rest. Farewell.

Haste.

Your

JEWEL.

Paul's Eve. [June 28, 1553.]

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[q] The Parker Society translation has—"You had altogether one evening left your wife alone;" the Editor reading the MS. thus, "*planè fugeras uxorem vesperi solam.*" The true reading is,—"*planè fugeras: uxorem reperi solam.*"

[r] The Parker Society translation has "servant of the Lord:" reading the MS., "*virum Domini.*" The true reading is, "*virum bonum.*"

CVI.

CALVIN TO SEVERAL SWISS CHURCHES.

GENEVA, *November* 19, 1554.

[Latin: Calvini Opera, VIII. 651. Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum, p. 199, 8vo., Lipsiæ, 1840. English Translation, by Beveridge, Calvin's Tracts relating to the Reformation, II. 204-212, 8vo., Edinburgh, 1849.]

Translation by the Editor of the "Gleanings."—Extract.

To the faithful Ministers of Christ, Co-pastors, and sincere and truly respected brethren, of the Church of Zurich, Berne, Basle, Shafhausen, Coire, and the Grisons, Sangall, Bienne, Milhousen, and Neufchatel.

FOUR YEARS have now elapsed, venerable brethren, since the substance of our Confession[s] concerning the Sacraments saw the light; by which we hoped that the unhappy contentions, which had too long exercised pious and learned men, would be utterly extinguished. And certainly, in that short compendium, we embraced what might have sufficed to settle good minds; and fact itself shews that our plan not only pleased grave and judicious men, but that the matter itself was also approved. . . .

In the meantime, certain unlearned and turbulent men assumed such licence in raising an outcry, that it is to be feared that a new fire will be kindled by their intemperance, unless it be opposed. . . . In truth, however, although their writings fly about, by which the good are vexed, the weak disturbed, the unprincipled armed for a contest,—yet it is not without reluctance and sorrow that I have been induced publicly to refute their folly. . . . And, since I desire that all who are not altogether intractable, or who have not boasted themselves so insolently, should quietly return to a sane mind; moreover, that no one should complain that the door of penitence has been shut against him; I will briefly criticise one person,[t] and him without mentioning his name. . . . What kind of enemies does he

[s] The Zurich Consent, adopted August 30, 1549.—This valuable document was first translated into English by Beveridge, and is printed in Calvin's Tracts, II. 212-220, 8vo., Edinburgh, 1849.

[t] Westphal is the person referred to.

pretend to oppose? Nominally, indeed, he calls them Sacramentarians, but he defines the matter itself thus: that he attacks those who, in the Eucharistic bread and in the blood of Christ, leave nothing but empty Signs. . . . Who among us do not assert their own truthfulness for the Symbols? . . . . Our cause, indeed, needs defence from no other quarter than himself; since he recites our own words, in which we openly confess that the body of Christ is communicated to the faithful in the sacred Supper. What? when a true communion is asserted, is nothing left besides a naked and empty Sign? There remains for him a miserable refuge in the unmeaning cavil,—that we speak of a spiritual eating. Is he, then, willing to maintain a carnal? But he does not think that we contemplate a real body: as if we, indeed, like himself and his fellows, imagine a phantasm in the place of a body. But we, knowing that it was the one body of Christ which was once offered up as a victim for our reconciliation with God, affirm that it is that same [body] which is offered to us in the Supper. . . .

He afterwards endeavours to excite odium against us, from the discrepancy of our opinions. It is a mark of heretics, he says, to dissent from each other's opinions. Suppose I grant this,—how does it apply to us? He replies;—because, according to some, the bread signifies the body; to others, it is a Symbol; to others, a Sign; to others, a Figure; to others, a Memorial; to others, a Representation; to others, a Testimony, or Obsignation of Communion; to others, a Remembrance of His flesh given for us; to others, a Witness, which figures spiritual grace; to others, a Communion in the body. Who will not think that he prevaricates? For our "Consent" could not be better praised, than by forms of speaking so well agreeing with each other. . . . I do not conceal that he afterwards collects different sentiments which afford a greater appearance of contrariety, although they admit of being fairly reconciled. But, first of all, if any one person has happened to express an *obiter dictum*, he calumniously seizes on it as if it were a full definition. And, in the next place, when every one ought to be allowed his own manner and liberty of expression, he prescribes to all, iniquitously, not to say tyrannically, the necessity of not only saying the same thing, but also in the same way. . . That no variety may disturb pious readers, we put forth our "Consent:" this

admirable zealot may here see that those whom he calls Sacramentarians think and speak the same thing.

If those excellent and distinguished servants of Christ, Zuingle and Œcolampadius, were still living, they would not change the smallest word in that Confession.[u] That man, also, of blessed memory, Martin Bucer, after having read it, in a letter [v] he wrote to me, congratulated the whole Church. . . .

However, I have thought good to endeavour to do something in this matter, sincere and respected brethren, in order that those who have been too harsh, may, possibly, become less morose; or, at least, that pious, grave, and moderate teachers, may be instructed how to tame such headstrong persons. And since the compendious brevity of our former Writing lays it open to the cavils of some persons, and does not altogether eradicate the doubts which have been deeply fixed in the minds of many; in order to remove the scruples of all, it has appeared to me to be the best method to express our mind somewhat more fully, so that the same Confession may be enriched by more words. That person, respecting whom I have already said too much, reproaches us with having put forth such a confused chaos of the opinions we severally entertain, that no one can understand another. But I feel assured that I am so far in possession of the sentiments of all of you, that I trust I have put down nothing here but that to which every one of you would subscribe. For I do not arrogate to myself the office of dictating or taking the lead; but I offer my services on this condition, that it shall remain with you to decide what it is expedient to determine. . . . Farewell, excellent and ever esteemed brethren. May the Lord be with you; govern you by His Spirit; and bless your labours. My colleagues respectfully salute you.

Your

JOHN CALVIN.

Geneva, November 19, 1554.

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[u] "Sententia." [v] See the letter, now first published, above, p. 99.

CVII.

EXTRACTS FROM CALVIN'S "EXPOSITION OF THE HEADS OF THE ZURICH CONSENT."

GENEVA, *November* 19, 1554.

[Latin: Printed in Calvini Opera VIII. 653-659. Reprinted in Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum, pp. 202, 217, edit. 8vo., Lipsiæ, 1840. English Translation, by Beveridge, Calvin's Tracts relating to the Reformation, II. 221-244, 8vo., Edinburgh, 1849.]

Translation by the Editor of the "Gleanings."—Extracts.

* * * * *

[w] 1. WHEN we treat on Sacraments, no one can deny that we ought chiefly to consider the Institution and design of the Lord. Thus the force and use of the Sacraments will be best known; for no one can err who directs his mind to that point to which the Lord Himself calls us. We have rightly laid it down,[x] that Sacraments were instituted to lead us to communion with Christ. . . . If they [our opponents] are zealous for the dignity of the Sacraments; what, I ask, is equally magnificent for their adornment, than to call them helps[y] and media, by which we are either inserted into the body of Christ, or, being inserted, we coalesce more and more, until he completely[z] unites us with Himself in heavenly life? If they desire that our salvation be promoted by Sacraments, what can be imagined more conducive to this end, than that being brought to Himself the Fountain of Life, we should draw life from the Son of God? Hence, whether we regard our own benefit, or the dignity and reverence which it is meet should be brought to the Sacraments, we have clearly expounded the end and the cause of their institution. . . . We refer everything to Christ,[a] in Him we collect, and under Him we ordain, and from Him we assert must flow, the whole force of the Sacraments. (Niemeyer, p. 203.)

2. In their legitimate use, two evils are to be avoided. If

[w] These paragraphs are not distinguished by figures, in Calvin's Exposition; the numbers are here annexed simply for facility of reference.

[x] Z. C., Head I. [y] "Adminicula." [z] "Solidè." [a] Z. C., Head II.

their dignity be unduly extolled, superstition easily creeps in; but if we speak coldly, or with too little fervour, of their force and fruit, profane contempt soon breaks forth. . . . They hear us acknowledge that Sacraments are neither empty figures,[b] nor merely external tokens of piety;[c] but Seals[d] of the promises of God; testimonies of spiritual grace to promote and confirm faith; also, instruments[e] by which God acts efficaciously in His elect: and, therefore, (—although Signs are distinct[f] from Things Signified, yet by no means to be disjoined or separated—) they were given in order that they may sanction and confirm what God has promised in His word; and especially that they may seal the secret communion which exists between us and Christ. . . . We say, lest the bread and the wine should deceive our senses, that a true effect is conjoined to their external figure, so that the faithful thence receive the Body and the Blood of Christ. (Ibid, pp. 204, 205.)

3. It is asked, What is the efficacy of the Sacraments, what their use, what their offices? Our writing replies: Since the salvation of the faithful depends entirely on the spiritual communion which they have with the Son of God; in order to testify this, the use both of the Gospel and of the Sacraments is enjoined. Let our readers observe, that Sacraments are conjoined with the Gospel, as working the same benefit in the matter of our salvation. . . . For since all of us have always professed that we embrace willingly that saying of Augustine, that "The Sacrament is, as it were, a Visible Word;"—we acknowledge,[g] without controversy, that our salvation is promoted equally by each of these helps. . . . Since nothing is more absurd than that Sacraments should be exalted above the Word, of which they are the Appendices and Seals, they [our opponents] will find nothing which is agreeable to the Word denied by us to the Sacraments. Lastly: if they admit that God is the sole Author of our salvation, who is there that will demand more to be allowed to Sacraments, than that they are the media and instruments[h] of His secret grace adapted to our infirmity? This one consideration abundantly and superabundantly vindicates them from

[b] Z. C., Head X. [c] Z. C., Head VII.
[d] Z. C., Head VIII. [e] "Organa." [f] Z. C., Head IX.
[g] Z. C., Heads V., VI., VII. [h] "Organa."

contempt,—that they are not only tokens of all the good things which God has once exhibited to us in Christ, and of which we daily partake, but that the efficacy of the Spirit is conjoined to their external representation, in order that they may not be empty pictures. On the other hand, not only does the experience of all ages teach us, but the gross conceptions[i] of every one of us proves, how anxiously we ought to guard against superstition. . . . In order to obviate superstition, we have said[k] in the very outset, that those act foolishly who have regard to merely naked signs, and not rather to the promises annexed to them. By which words we mean nothing more than Augustine (89th Homily on John) truly and prudently teaches, with universal consent,—that Sacraments then only stand forth from the Elements when the Word is added; not because it is pronounced,[l] but because it is believed. And that this is the cause why Christ declares the Apostles to be clean because of the Word which they had heard from Him, not because of Baptism with which they were washed. For if visible figures, which are introduced instead of Sacraments without the Word, are not only barren[m] and dead elements, but noxious fallacies,—what else is a looking upon the Sacrament, when there is no regard to the promise, but a mere illusion? Undoubtedly, if any one brings only his eyes to them, while his ears are closed, they differ in no respect from profane mysteries. . . . The matter altogether stands thus: unless the Sign is mixed with the Promise, it is in itself insipid and profitless. For what can a mortal and earthly man effect, by pouring water on the heads of those he baptizes, except Christ pronounce from above, that He washes their souls by His blood and renovates them by His Spirit? What, the whole company of the pious, by tasting a very small portion of wine and bread, except that voice from heaven resound,[n] that the flesh of Christ is spiritual food, and that His blood is drink indeed? We, therefore, truly conclude, that the material of water, bread, and wine can by no means make us partakers of Christ and of His spiritual gifts; but that we are led to Him by the Promise, that He will make Himself ours, and, dwelling in us by faith, will

[i] "Propria ruditas."
[l] "Profertur."
[n] "Personet."
[k] Z. C., Head X.
[m] "Jejuna."

fulfil whatever is promised and offered to us by Signs. . . . . Undoubtedly the Lord, when He instituted Sacraments, by no means placed obstacles in our way which might detain us in the world; but rather built up steps[o] by which we might ascend above to heaven: since Christ is to be found nowhere else, and since rest is to be found nowhere but in Him alone. (Ibid, pp. 205—207.)

4. There follows another correction of a sufficiently common and yet not less noxious superstition, where we admonish,[p] that, if anything is conferred to us by Sacraments, it is done not by their own efficacy,[q] but by the efficacy of the Spirit of God as far as He sees fit to exert it. For the wit of man cannot refrain from either including the efficacy of God in the Signs, or from substituting the Signs themselves in the place of God. Thus it comes to pass, that God Himself is deprived of the praise of His efficacy, while men maintain that that is received from dead creatures, which comes[r] absolutely from Himself. This is the sum of our devotion, which we testify by clear and no means ambiguous words;—that God alone effects whatever we receive from Sacraments; and that He effects it by His secret and intrinsic influence. But, lest any one should raise an objection, that the Signs also have their parts, not having been given in vain; we instantly meet it, by declaring that God so uses their administration, as neither to infuse His own power[s] into them, nor to derogate at all from the efficacy of His Spirit. What then do these good men require?—Do they desire that God should act through Sacraments? We teach this.—Do they desire that our faith should be exercised, cherished, assisted, confirmed by them? We maintain the very same.—Do they desire that the efficacy[t] of the Holy Spirit should stand forth in them, in order that they may promote the salvation of the elect of God? We believe the same.—The state of the question turns on this point; is it right to ascribe all the parts of our salvation to God[u] entirely, or that He Himself should transfer a part of

[o] "Scalas."
[p] Z. C., Head XII., XIII.
[q] "Virtutem."
[r] "Quod ejus proprium est."
[s] "Vim."
[t] "Virtutem."
[u] "In solidum."

His praise to the Sacraments while He uses them? . . . . No injury is done to earthly elements by their not being adorned with the spoils of God. (Ibid, pp. 207, 208.)

5. That which we have[v] added from Augustine, that it is Christ alone who baptizes inwardly, and that it is He alone who makes us partakers of Himself in the Supper;—commends in the highest degree the supreme excellency of each Mystery. For hence we collect that those are not human works of which the Son of God is the author, over which He presides, in which He manifests His efficacy,[w] stretching forth, as it were, His hand from heaven. . . . And what need is there of human testimony, when that voice of the Spirit, which sounded so clearly from the mouth of the Baptist (John i. 33) ought constantly to vibrate on our ears?—this is He who baptizes with the Spirit—since, from this testimony[x] it is manifest that He is to be distinguished from all ministers, and that we ought to know that He bestows that within, which men certify by a visible Sign. (Ibid, pp. 208, 209.)

6. What do visible Sacraments profit, without that sanctification of invisible grace? Indeed, there is no other way of reconciling passages of Scripture which seem specifically discrepant: such as those, which we there[y] noted;—that the Holy Spirit is a Seal by which the assurance of our future inheritance is confirmed to us: and that the Sacraments, also, are seals. For it is not more reasonable that these should be placed upon an equal[z] footing, than that that should be transferred to Signs which is the sole prerogative of the Spirit. (Ibid, p. 209.)

7. What we have said,[a]—that the Signs do not profit all promiscuously, but only the elect of God, whom the interior and efficacious operation of the Spirit influences,—is too clear to need a long defence. For, if any one chooses to make the effect common to all, besides that such an imagination is refuted by the testimony of Scripture, experience cries out against it. . . .

[v] Z. C., Head XIV.
[w] "Virtutem."
[x] "Elogio."
[y] Z. C., Head XV.
[z] "Pari gradu."
[a] Z. C., Head XVI.

And we justly repudiate[b] that Sorbonne figment, that the Sacraments of the new law profit all who do not place in the way the hindrance[c] of mortal sin. For it is plainly an insipid superstition to annex to them a virtue which their mere external use, like a canal, pours into the soul. But, if it be necessary that faith should intervene as a medium; no one in his senses will deny, that the same God, who assists our infirmities by these helps, gives faith also, which, resting on suitable supports, ascends to Christ to become possessed of His grace. And certainly this ought to be beyond controversy; that, as it would not be sufficient for the sun to shine and to emit his rays from heaven, unless eyes had been previously given us by which we may benefit by his light, so the Lord would in vain enlighten by external Signs unless He constitute us eyed.[d] Aye, as the heat of the sun, which gives health[e] to a living and animated body draws forth stench from a corpse; so Sacraments, where the Spirit of faith is not present, undoubtedly breathe a deadly rather than a vital odour. (Ibid, pp. 209, 210.)

8. Some exclaim ignorantly, that the figure in the Sacred Supper is made empty and vain, unless unbelievers receive the same thing in it as the faithful. I would readily subscribe to this opinion, if I could think that the same thing is promiscuously given to both:[f] but that Christ can be received without faith, is no less monstrous than that a seed can germinate in the fire. For by what authority do they presume to dissever Christ from His Spirit? which we consider a nefarious sacrilege. They will maintain, that Christ is received by the wicked, to whom they do not allow one drop of the Spirit of Christ. What is this, but, as it were, to shut [Him] up dead in the sepulchre?[g] (Ibid, p. 211.)

9. That the effect of spiritual benefits, which the Sacraments figure, may be obtained by the faithful[h] without their use, we

[b] Z. C., Head XVII.
[c] "Obicem."
[d] "Oculatos."
[e] "Vegetans."
[f] Z. C., Head XVIII.
[g] Calvin goes on to cite several passages from Augustine, opposed to this error.
[h] Z. C., Head XIX.

find to be true by daily experience, and is proved by Scripture. The martyrs, who were deprived of the means of taking the outward Sign, cannot be said, on that account, to have been destitute of Christ who triumphed magnificently in them. Nor can any one come rightly to the Supper who is altogether empty of Christ. Nor was the truth of Baptism wanting to Cornelius, who, *before the washing of water*, had *already*[i] the ablution of the Holy Spirit. . . . To this Head is related what we next add,[j] namely: the benefit we

[i] "Jam."

[j] Z. C., Head XX.—The whole of this Head is so important, that I give it *in extenso*:—"Moreover, the benefit which we receive from the Sacraments ought by no means to be restricted to the time in which they are administered to us; just as if the visible Sign, while it is brought forward [*in medium profertur*], at the very moment imparted, together with itself, the grace of God. For God sometimes regenerates even in old age those who were baptized in early infancy, or in childhood, or even in adult years [*ineunte adolescentia*]. So the benefit of Baptism lies open for the whole course of life, because the promise which is contained in it is in perpetual force [*perpetuò viget*]. And it may sometimes come to pass, that the use of the Sacred Supper, which produces no benefit in the very act, by reason of our inconsideration or slowness [of heart], at length brings forth its fruit."—Gataker, in his controversy with Ward, "De Baptismatis Infantilis vi et efficacia" (Opera Critica, edit. folio, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1698, f. 103), quotes a similar remark by Beza (Ad Act. collat. Mompelg., p. 122):—"We do do not refer the efficacy of Baptism to *that moment* in which it is administered; but we affirm that the benefits of Christ, offered in it, sometimes precede it, sometimes follow it, in those, for instance, who have not the faith they promised when they were baptized, but shall have it in due [*suo*] time." "I have said, and I again say, that renewal is not to be restricted to *the moment* of conferring baptism, whether in infancy or in adult age; but is to be referred to that time when, from hearing, they apprehend Christ by actual faith." See more to the same effect in the same place.—Luther has a noble passage on this important distinction, in his Babylonish Captivity (Opera, Vol. ii., pp. 272 b, 273 a, edit. Jenæ, 1600):—"Sacraments are not fulfilled *while they are performed*, but while they are *believed*. So that it cannot be true that the efficacious force of Justification is in the Sacraments, or that they are efficacious Signs of grace (—for all these things are said to the damage of *faith*, through ignorance of the Divine promise—), except it be meant that they are efficacious in this way, namely, that if undoubted *faith* be present, they most certainly and most efficaciously confer grace. . . . . So clearly do you see that Sacraments are not at all understood by *sententionary* theologians [he probably alludes to those who adopted the theology of *the Master of the Sentences*] . . . . who cling to the Sign and the use of the Sign; and who snatch us away from FAITH to the WORK, and from *the Word* to the *Sign*; by doing which they have not only brought the Sacraments into captivity, but, as far as they could, have abolished them. . . . . You may further perceive, that the Sacrament of Bap-

derive from the Sacraments *ought not to be restricted to the time of external reception,* as if they conveyed the grace of God *at the very moment in which they are administered.*[k] . . . . We see the effect of Baptism, which was none at the time [of administration], at length emerge. Many are sprinkled with water, immediately after their birth,[l] who, as they advance in years, are so far from showing that they have been inwardly baptized, that rather, having as far as they had the power, extinguished the Spirit of God, they render their Baptism an empty form.[m] God recalls a part of these to Himself. He, therefore, who shuts up newness of life in the Sign as in a case, does not so much adorn the Sign itself, as he is injurious to God. Now, since the meditation of repentance ought to be diligently cultivated even unto death, that the sons of God may advance in it, who does not see that Baptism is impiously mutilated, if its force and its fruit, which is manifested[n] through the whole course of life, be not extended beyond external administration? Indeed, nothing can be conceived more reproachful to the sacred Signs, than that their truth is limited in its influence to the moment in which they are exhibited.[o] I hold this as follows—that, although the visible figure immediately passes away, yet the grace which it testifies remains, and does not vanish in a moment with the ocular spectacle. (Ibid., pp. 212, 213.)

10. On the local presence,[p] I am astonished that our reprovers are not ashamed to have any controversy. But, when they deny that the body of Christ is locally circumscribed by space, they must hold that it is unlimited.[q] But, what do *we* say?—that He is to be sought in heaven, which, as Scripture testifies, has received Him, until He shall appear in judgment. There is no reason why any one should so load us with envy, as if we maintained the fiction that He is absent from us, and as if we separated the members from the Head. Undoubtedly, if it

tism, even as regards the Sign, is not a momentary but a perpetual affair; for, though its administration suddenly passes away, yet *the thing signified* remains till death—yea, even till the resurrection in the last day."

[k] "Eodem secum momento adveherent."

[l] "Ab utero matris."

[m] "Exinaniunt."

[n] "Patet."

[o] "Eorum veritatem in præsenti tantum actione vigere."

[p] Z. C., Head XXV.

[q] "Immensum esse volunt."

were permitted Paul to say, that "we are absent[r] from the Lord," while we are in the world; by the same reason we may say, that we are disjoined from Him by a certain kind of absence, so far as we are distant from His celestial abode. Christ is, therefore, absent from us as regards the Body, but, dwelling in us by His Spirit, He so raises us to Himself into heaven, that He transfuses into us the life-giving vigour of His flesh, just as we derive health[s] from the vital warmth of the sun by his rays. . . . . By this limitation,[t] we not only refute that transubstantiation[u] which the Papists have invented, but all those gross figments and futile subtleties, which either derogate from the celestial glory of Christ, or are inconsistent with the truth of [His] human nature. . . . . Who ought to be displeased with us, if we strive to maintain safe and entire that which belongs to each nature in Christ; in order that that Mediator who joins us to God may not be torn asunder? The immensity which they imagine to be in Christ's flesh, is a prodigious spectre, which overthrows the hope of the resurrection. For, when they have babbled forth all they can say on the quality of [His] celestial life, I always oppose to them that declaration of Paul, that we wait for Christ from heaven, who shall change our vile body that He may render it conformable to His glorious body:—now, what need is there to insist on the absurdity that the whole world shall be filled with each of the bodies of the faithful? (Ibid., p. 215.)

CVIII.

MARTYR TO A FRIEND.

No place or date; probably in 1554.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1118.—Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 107, col. 2.]

New Translation.

According to my promise of a few days ago, I now forward to you, most worthy Sir, unto whom I am for many causes be-

[r] "Peregrinari."
[s] "Vegetamur."
[t] "Exceptione."
[u] Z. C., XXIV.

holden, that written [v]Confession, sealed up with little twigs just as I received it. When I give it my more serious consideration, I cannot believe that, written as it is, it has been put forth by our party; since there is no mention made of our receiving the Lord's Body and Blood *through faith, not by the bodily mouth;* which appears to me the key of this whole controversy. I certainly do not stumble at the name of *substance,* because I know that our faith does not contemplate any vain or fictitious body. But I marvel at what is said in the second article, that "*Symbols ever have the very thing itself conjoined with them;*" and that, in the third, the mode of that conjunction is declared, being said "*to be called not figurative only or typical.*" For my part, I know no other connexion of the Body and Blood with their symbols than that of signification; which word I use in no ordinary sense, but as really efficacious, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit uses it as a certain sure instrument, just as He uses the outward word. No less obscure is that which immediately follows,—"*but such as to give a true and certain representation, under the form of visible things.*" If the word "*representation*" denotes a type or figure, all is well; but if it be meant to signify (as it often does) the setting forth of a thing actually present, it is untrue, and affords occasion of error. And since, in these matters, we must aim at the utmost perspicuity, there was need, in my opinion, of a more copious Exposition. Then, again, we have in the same third article, "*the question, meanwhile, is on the mode of the Presence, which is known to God alone;*" whereas it seems to me that it has been ever held by our friends that this mode is, the apprehension of a lively faith. Wherefore I do not think that the mode of this Presence is to be accounted obscure or doubtful. The mode of the Lutheran Presence cannot be apprehended; for, while they insist on a real, substantial Presence, they either expand the Lord's Body through all space, or assert its existence in a thousand places at once; which surpasses all truth and reason alike. Nor, in fine, can I discover that it is anywhere pointed out, in that Confession, that our true union with Christ is of such kind as admits local distance betwixt us and the Body of the Lord; so that His real or substantial Presence here among us is by no means necessary to our true union with Himself.

[v] It does not appear what Confession this letter alludes to.

These things only I wished at this time to remark, because I should be not a little disquieted if I really thought the matter had been so written and confirmed by the brethren; but, since I cannot persuade myself of that, I am less annoyed. Yet I am annoyed that I hear such things are circulated under our name. I doubt not you will perceive more to censure, having no need of a guide to that end. For I give some parts a favourable interpretation. I am convinced that you will receive in good part all that I have written, since you are not to doubt that all proceeds from the best purpose. But I will no longer hinder your business. Farewell, and love me, as ever.

[PETER MARTYR.]

CIX.

BULLINGER TO CALVIN.

ZURICH, *January* 18, 1555.

[Latin, printed in Calvini Opera, IX. 106, col. 2, edit. fol., Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

MUCH HEALTH.—Honoured Sir and Brethren. Your letter addressed to myself privately, and that which you wish to be public, together with your Defence, reached me only just now; on which account I have not yet shown it to the Brethren, but I will do so to-morrow. I have not the least doubt that they will read the whole with pleasure, congratulation, and thankfulness.

* * * * *

You know that England has received the Pope and Popery.[r] The Devil has made use of two excellent instruments for their restoration;—within the kingdom, the Bishop of Winchester; without the kingdom, Cardinal Reginald Pole, who is already created Primate of the kingdom and Archbishop of Canterbury. He was received

[r] See a letter addressed from Strasburgh by William Salkens to Bullinger, December 29, 1554, printed in Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 346.

with solemn pomp in London, at the Holy[s] Cross of the Cathedral of St. Paul. The Nobles prostrated themselves at his feet, and as supplicants asked absolution and Apostolical benediction from the beast, acknowledging that, having been cut off for fifteen years from the Catholic and Roman Church, they had been wandering through the briery-places of the heretics. The Bishop of Winchester preached[t] to that dark assembly, and revoked the identical declaration[u] which he had put forth in the time of King Henry [VIII.] "*On Obedience.*"[v] When the Cardinal came to Queen Mary, and was at a loss for a form of salutation worthy of such a restoration, he thought fit to adopt the words of the Angel, "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee." O the blind intellects, O the blind bosoms of men! Come, come, Lord Jesus, and vindicate Thy reproach, and assert Thy glory!

Our brethren the Bishops and Nobles are still kept in prison; in a short time, probably, they will be delivered over to the Spiritual Jurisdiction which is now re-established, and then to the Secular Arm. Numbers are daily thrown into chains. To give aid to any exile is inhibited by capital punishment. The Bishop of Winchester boasts, that he will bring it about that the exiles, ejected from every place, shall at length be forced to perish with hunger, and to bite their own nails. The English who are living among us, are very sorrowful; but we console them. Let us earnestly pray to the Lord that He would manifest His right hand and His mercy to His afflicted Church.

Farewell. Our fellow-ministers salute you and all your fellow-ministers. May the Lord Jesus long preserve you to us in safety. Again farewell, honoured Sir, and dearest brother in Christ. Zurich, January 18, 1555.

[HENRY BULLINGER.]

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[s] Paul's Cross.—The procession took place on November 28, 1554. See Foxe, VI., 567, &c.

[t] On Sunday, Dec. 2, 1554. Foxe (VI. 577,) has given some notes of his "clerkly sermon." See also Strype, Memorials, II., i. 259.

[u] "Orationem."

[v] "*De verâ Obedientia,*" published in 1534, to justify the Parliament in giving the King the title of Supreme Head of the Church; an opinion which Gardiner recanted in his Sermon at St. Paul's.

CX.

CALVIN TO KNOX AND WHITTINGHAM.[w]

January 18, 1555.

[Latin, Printed in Calvini Opera, IX. 98, col. 1, edit. Amstelodami, folio, 1667. English translation, in A brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Frankfort in 1554, printed in 1575, reprint 1846, p. XXXIV. Also in Dyer's Life of Calvin, p. 427, London, 8vo., 1850.]

New Translation.[x]

It grieves me exceedingly, and is very absurd, that dissension should arise between brethren banished and scattered from their country for their common faith; and that, for a cause which itself, as a sacred bond, ought to have held you closely united during your dispersion. For in this your afflicting and miserable calamity, torn as you are from the bosom of your country, what

[w] A list of twenty-eight of the Exiles at Frankfort is given by Fuller, Church History of Britain, B. VIII., C. xvi., Vol. IV., p. 207, edit. 8vo., Oxford, 1845. —They came there, June 24th, and July 14th, 1554, and chose John Knox for their minister. Towards the end of 1554, Knox and others addressed a letter to Calvin, complaining that influential persons in the congregation were stiff in requiring the use of the second Liturgy of Edward VI. (1552), and the adoption of the ceremonies and vestments used in England in connexion with it. The principal opponent of Knox and his supporters, seems to have been Dr. Cox (afterwards Bishop of Ely), with others whose names will be given in a note to the next letter. A one-sided account, by the separatists, of this lamentable dispute, which was the origin of the secession of the Nonconformists from the Church of England, and produced such bitter animosities, on the return of the Exiles, in the reign of Elizabeth, is set forth at large in "A brieff Discours of the Troubles begonne at Frankfort, in the year 1554," which was probably written by Whittingham, and was not printed till 1575: it has been lately reprinted, in 1846 (Petheram, London). A more succinct and impartial account may be seen in Fuller, Vol. IV., pp. 208—227; a still better, in Dyer's Life of Calvin, pp. 421—439. See also Strype's Memorials, III., i. 404—408: and Collier, Eccl. Hist., VI. 144—153, edit. 8vo., 1840. Calvin's letter of January 18, 1555, was replied to by Whittingham, in a letter dated March 15, 1555, printed in Original Letters Parker Society, p. 764.

[x] In the translation given in the Troubles at Frankfort, "Some of the expressions are twisted to a meaning more favourable to the Frankfort congregation than the original warrants," as Mr. Dyer justly observes. His own version is spirited, elegant, and faithful to Calvin's meaning; but more free than consists with the plan of close translation adopted throughout my own volume.

more favourable resolution could you have taken, than to adopt a Church which might have received and cherished you in her maternal bosom, joined together in mind and language? In my judgment the present is a very unseasonable time for any one to stir up strife concerning a Form of Prayer,[c] and Ceremonies, as if you were living in ease and luxury; and thereby to place an obstacle in the way of your coalescing in one Ecclesiastical body, in the place in which you are settled. I do not, however, blame the firmness of those who, well assured that they are contending for a just cause, are unwillingly drawn into controversy: but I condemn, and not without reason, that pertinacity which retards and hinders the holy desire of forming[d] a Church. Indeed, as I always shew myself to be easy and compliant in matters of secondary[e] importance, for instance in external rites; so I do not consider it always profitable to yield to the silly moroseness of those who will not give way in the slightest circumstance which interferes with their customs.

In the English Liturgy,[c] according to your account of it ["*qualem describitis*"[g]], I see many bearable trifles ["*tolerabiles ineptias*"]. By these two words I mean, that there is not that purity which might have been desired: the faults, however, which could not immediately[h] be corrected might have been borne for a time, since no manifest impiety lurked beneath them. It was, therefore, lawful to begin thus, with such rudiments; since it was reasonably to be expected that learned, right-minded,[i] and grave ministers of Christ would struggle for something further, and would seek for something still better filed and more pure. If sincere religion had continued to flourish in England, it would

[c] The second Liturgy of Edward VI., 1552. It seems that the Book itself was not sent; but "Knox, Whittingham, and others, drewe forthe a platt off the whole Booke off England into the Lattin tonge, sending the same to Maister Caluin off Geneua, and requestinge his iudgement therin." "A brieff Discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany, Anno Domini 1554, &c.," p. XXVIII.

[d] The author of the "Brieff Discours, &c.," mistranslates "Sanctum Ecclesiæ *formandæ* studium," as follows—"the holye carefullnes of *reforminge* the Churche;" with the evident wish to represent Calvin as altogether approving the views of the complainants. [e] "Rebus mediis."

[g] Dr. Cox writes to Calvin, Frankfort, April 5, 1555,—"Though we are very loth to suspect our brethren of anything that savours of insincerity, we are nevertheless somewhat afraid that the whole affair and case *has not been set before you with sufficient explicitness*." [h] "Primo statim die." [i] "Probos."

have been proper that something better should have been put forth with a few corrections and many omissions. But now, those beginnings having been subverted, and it being necessary for you to build up a Church in another place, and since you are free to compose such an entirely new Form as shall appear to be best adapted to the use and edification of the Church;—I cannot understand what those persons would have, who are so vastly delighted with the leavings of Popish dregs. They love what they have been accustomed to: now, in the first place, this is frivolous and childish; and, in the next, this renewal is very different from a change. Now, as I would not have you immoderately rigid, in respect of those whose infirmity will not allow them to mount to the highest step; so, again, I desire others not to be too self-complacent in their lack of knowledge, nor to retard by their wilfulness the progress of the sacred edifice, nor to be carried away by their foolish emulation. For what cause of quarrel can they find, except that they are ashamed to give place to better things. But it is in vain that I address myself to those who, possibly, do not owe me so much respect as to condescend to receive counsel coming from such an adviser. If they are apprehensive of being unfavourably reported in England, as having fallen away from that religion for the sake of which they became exiles, they are exceedingly mistaken. Undoubtedly this more ingenuous and sincere profession will force the faithful, left in that country, to reflect upon the profound abyss into which they have fallen:[k] for they will have a more keen perception of its immense depth, when they shall have seen that you have advanced beyond that middle course which they have been compelled to retrace.

Farewell, excellent brethren, and faithful servants of Christ. May the Lord continue to guard and rule you.

Geneva, 18 January,[l] 1555.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

[[m] *To the godly and learned men Maister John Knox, and Maister William Whittingham, his faithful brethren at Frankfort.*]

[k] "Gravius suum præcipitium vulnerabit."

[l] The date is "the 20. off Jan." in the Brieff Discours of the Troubles, &c., p. XXXVI.

[m] This address is given in the Brieff Discours of the Troubles, &c.

CXI.

MARTYR TO CALVIN.

STRASBURGH, *March* 8, 1555.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1094. English Translation by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, London, 1583, p. 96, col. 1.]

New Translation.

I AM glad that the little[a] book in defence of the "Consent" of our Churches on the Sacramentarian Controversy is now published, and I desire it may be attended by the utmost fruit. Nor do I doubt, considering the erudition and piety wherewith it makes its appearance, that it will prove advantageous to the weak, a comfort to the learned; though to the obstinate an occasion of hatred and anger. Herein there will be nothing strange, seeing that such is the condition of the Word of God. Having heard the reasons assigned in your letter,[b] I take it I will not say well, but most excellently well, that none of the matters which I had noticed have been altered. I have only wondered about this one point, and would most gladly learn if it be so; I mean that N. has approved what you have written by his own vote.[c] For I love the man on account of his other excellent qualities; but, in this Controversy in which we are now occupied, he has always seemed to me to *Saxonize* too much, and to have a mind alienated from the truth which we defend. What our brethren will judge I know not.

I considered that both your letter and the book should be handed over to Marbach; for you have written nothing which may not and ought not to be taken in good part by men of sound judgment.

[a] The "*Consensus Tigurinus*" was published in 1549; but Calvin gave a more full explanation of it, in his "*Consensionis Capitum Expositio*," to which he prefixed an Epistle dated November 19, 1554, to these latter Martyr here alludes. See Niemeyer's "Collectio Confessionum," Lipsiæ, 1840, pp. 199, 202, et seqq. See these above, p. 322, 325.

[b] Dated November 19, 1554.

[c] "Suo calculo."

Do not be surprised that possibly you may receive a somewhat tardy reply. Meetings, indeed, were held on your letter being delivered; but Marbach himself was absent a whole month, and returned four days ago. He went into his own country, and, on his return, made his journey by Zurich, and saluted me in the name of all those ministers. In speech he is very mild and bland, but exceedingly tenacious of his own opinion. He got so far as not to include the Body of Christ in the bread, but he insists that an actual and most real presence must be asserted, so far as the communicants are concerned, of the Body and Blood of Christ, and such a presence that even the wicked and they that eat unworthily do partake it; which clearly shows that he does not attribute the reception to faith, unless we speak of a living and salutary reception; as though there were a certain other true and (as they say) real eating of Christ's Body, which even the wicked may share. But I dwell too long hereon, especially in writing to you, who understand by a single word the state of the controversy.

What you write of N. N., I, too, know with sorrow to be true. He does not honestly admit the doctrine of Predestination, and, as I [d]suspected, makes quite common cause with Philip [Melancthon], and, indeed, propounds many things in which even Philip would not subscribe to him, which I do not judge expedient now to open out. But I can see no possibility of his adducing sufficient reason why he should deny the bread and wine to be symbols of the Lord's Body and Blood. And though he could show this, I should prefer to trust the Divine Scriptures rather than himself, which often commend both the bread and the cup as "antitypes" of the Lord's Body and Blood. Yet I would allow that the action itself,—the eating, I mean, and the drinking, are the symbol of the most sweet repast of souls, and the renovation of our whole nature, which we receive through Faith in the communion of the Sacrament of the Eucharist. When he says that the Body of Christ is not given for food, I for my part understood him in so saying to oppose himself to those who idly prate[e] that we transmit the Body of Christ by the bodily mouth, teeth, tongue, palate, and jaws into the stomach. But if he means anything else, let him be responsible for it. I, indeed, am entirely convinced that whatever sustenance or

[d] "Olfeci"—"*smelt out.*"

[e] "Blaterant."

spiritual food is received by us from the Body of Christ, is had from His true and natural Body, which for our salvation was formerly fastened on the Cross, and is now seated in Heaven, enveloped[f] in utmost glory. For since all the sustenance (which, indeed, is very great) is derived by us through faith, who will say that it contemplates a fictitious or imaginary Body? Assuredly none will so hold who would maintain the truth and dignity of Faith. For Faith apprehends things as they are. Wherefore, seeing that Christ's Body is not divested of its nature, either formerly on the Cross or now in Heaven, it is received by us through Faith a natural Body, as it is.

But while I write to you thus of N. N., another matter occurs to me, on which a sufficient reason impels me to write to you, both by way of inquiry, and also to state my own judgment. As I do this with all freedom, so it will be open to you, whenever you have leisure, to indicate your own opinion. I do not press you for an answer, being well aware that you are overdone by important matters.

Men do not all agree concerning the communion which we have with the Body of Christ and the substance of His nature; for what reason, I suppose you will hear. It is of much importance that he that is Christ's should understand the manner[g] of His union with Him.

And, firstly, it seems to me, that He was pleased (as is said in the Epistle to the Hebrews [ii. 14]) to communicate with us, in flesh and blood, by the benefit of His Incarnation. "Forasmuch as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same." But unless some other kind of communion were offered us, this would be very general and feeble; for the whole human race do already hold in this wise communion with Christ. They are in fact *men*, as He was *man*.

So besides that communion, there is added this; that, in due season, faith is breathed[h] into the elect, whereby they may believe in Christ; and thus they have not only remission of sins and reconciliation with God (wherein consists the true and solid method of justification), but, further, receive the renovating influence of the Spirit whereby our bodies also, our flesh, and blood, and nature, are made capable of immortality, and become

[f] "Circumfusum." [g] "Rationem." [h] "Adspirari."

every day more and more conformable to Christ (*Christiformia*), so to speak. Not that they lose the substance of their own nature, and actually pass into the Body and Blood of Christ; but in spiritual gifts and properties they approach as men to Him, as in corporal flesh and blood they had from their very birth a natural fellowship with Him.

We have then here, thus far, two communions with Christ. One is natural, which we derive through our origin from our parents: the other is effected by the Spirit of Christ, by which we are from our very regeneration renewed into the fashion of His glory.

But I think that between these there is an intermediate one, which is the fount and origin of all the celestial and spiritual likeness which we obtain, together with Christ. It is that whereby, as soon as we believe, we obtain Christ Himself, our true head, and are made His members. Whence from the Head itself (as St. Paul says [Eph. iv. 16]) His Spirit flows, and is derived through the joints and ligaments into us, as his true and legitimate members. This communion with our Head is prior, in nature at least, if not in time, to that later communion which is introduced through renovation. . . . Wherefore, when we are converted, Christ is made ours and we His, before we are rendered like Him in holiness and inherent righteousness. This is that secret communion whereby we are said to be grafted into Him. Thus we first put Him on; and so are called by the Apostle flesh of His flesh, bone of His bones. And from this communion which I have now explained that latter one is perfected so long as we live on earth. For the members of Christ are ever intent on becoming more like Him. Nor does interval of space hinder this mystical communion, but it may be enjoyed while we live on earth, although the very Body of Christ be seated and reigning with the Father in Heaven. It is quite sufficient that we be knit by certain links and ties of a spiritual kind unto Him. And yet these bonds or fastenings hang upon and are derived from the Head Himself; and these are, Faith (in the first place), God's Word, and His Sacraments. Through those means the Spirit flowing from our Head, is diffused through the Church, and quickens and shapes His members in due proportion.

These communions with Christ I acknowledge, but others (to

say the truth) I do not understand. I speak thus chiefly in regard of that which some even of the Fathers introduce, especially Cyril; who make the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ in such wise our food, that they assert it to be really intermingled with our substance. I cannot see how they can escape the position when they thus speak; that our identical flesh and blood, which is so nourished, is transmuted into the same personal substance with Christ; thus diffusing His Body into innumerable places. Let it be granted that the Sacraments and the Word of God are notes and symbols of a true communion with Christ, such as I have explained to my best ability. Let them be, further, ties and joints through which the Spirit of God becomes efficacious, always presuming faith to have been present in those in whom it can have place. Yet they should not, for all that, be so conceived of, as if we would tie grace and the Spirit either to the outward Word or to Sacraments, as though none could possibly be united to his Head,—I mean Christ,—without them. In adults, faith is the only necessary link and joint whereby we are united to Christ, and that indissolubly. This it is which, perchance, the Fathers intended by their own hyperbolical expressions, in the immoderate use of which they have both left us their writings obscured, and, moreover, have afforded a large handle to many errors.

I have discussed this matter more at large, I fear, than suits your occupation, and yet less copiously than may suffice to unfold my meaning.[1] When you shall have leisure, do not, I pray, conceal from me any part of your own opinion. . . . .

Farewell, man of God, and on many accounts most deserving of my regard. Sturm, Sleidan, and Zanchy most dutifully salute you.

Strasburgh, March 8, 1555.

[PETER MARTYR.]

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[1] There is a long and interesting letter, on the same subject, to Beza (without date, but probably written at the same time as this to Calvin), printed in Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1108; and in his Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 105, col. 1.

CXII.

CALVIN TO DR. RICHARD COX[a] AND HIS ASSOCIATES AT FRANKFORT.

GENEVA, 12 *June*,[b] 1555.

[Latin: printed in Calvini Opera IX., p. 98, col. 2, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.—English Translation printed in "A Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Frankfort," printed 1575, reprint 1846, p. LI.]

New Translation.

EXCELLENT AND TRULY RESPECTED BRETHREN,—I reply to your letter[c] more tardily, perhaps, than your hope and expectation had calculated upon. But, as you are aware that the roads have for some time been so beset by robbers, that scarcely any messengers have travelled from this place to you, you will easily excuse this delay.

I freely expressed to our excellent brother, Thomas Sampson,[d] [my opinion as to] what I had learned from a letter of certain

[a] In the Amsterdam edition of Calvin's Epistles, 1667, it is wrongly printed "CNOXO et gregalibus suis," for "COXO," &c.: also in the Lausanne edition.

[b] Erroneously, 31 May, in the Brieff Discours, &c., p. 51.—Dyer gives a short account of this letter, Life of Calvin, p. 431.

[c] This letter, dated 5 April, 1555, was subscribed by Cox, Becon, Sandys, Grindall, and Bale, among others. It is printed in Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 753. Grindall seems to have been at Frankfort only for a time:—"I was at this present at Frankfort *by occasion*." Letter from Grindall to Ridley (then in prison), Frankfort, May 6, 1555; Works, 387, edit. Parker Society. He adds:—"Here is a Church; and now, (God be thanked!) quieted by the prudence of Master Coxe, and other which met here for that purpose." Hooper's wife, also, took refuge there. We find her at Frankfort April 20, 1554, and (after her husband's martyrdom) April 11, 1555. Jewel, also, was there for a short time; and it was in the church at Frankfort that he made, from the pulpit, a touching and open confession of his want of courage in having signed at Oxford the Popish Articles which had been forced on him through (as he expresses it) "the terrible arguments of fire and faggot." See Works, Vol. I., p. 61, Vol. IV., pp. xii., xiii., 1192.

[d] This letter does not appear to be extant. It is referred to by Dr. Cox, April 5, 1555, as having been written "sometime since"—probably soon after that of January 18, to the complainants.

persons, concerning that contention which has unhappily been excited among you. For some friends had complained to me, that you pressed the [adoption of the] English ceremonies so precisely, that it was quite clear you were unreasonably partial to your own country.[e] I acknowledge, indeed, that I heard that you brought forward reasons for your not feeling at liberty to depart from the received Form;[f] but these might be easily and promptly refuted. While I exhorted those who dissented from you, to shew some degree of moderation, by such compliance as was possible; it was displeasing to me, that, on the other hand, nothing was conceded or remitted on your part. Since, however, the name of no individual was mentioned to me, I did not venture to interpose, lest my confidence should lay me open to the charge of rashness. I rejoice that now you have shown yourselves to be more kind and tractable, and that the whole business has been amicably settled.

Undoubtedly, in my opinion, no man endued with sound judgment will deny, that lights,[g] crosses,[g] and trifles of that sort,

[e] Dr. Cox and his friends reply, with spirited patriotism, to Calvin, (Frankfort, Sept. 20, 1555,)—"Those friends of yours complain, that 'we are too precise in enforcing the English ceremonies, and unreasonably partial to our own country.' These, indeed, we pertinaciously retain, as knowing them to be very godly: this, however, has never been done by us in a 'precise' manner; for we have abandoned some of them, for the sake of your friends, which might at that time have been piously adopted. But we make the concession to the love of our 'country,' 'to which,' forsooth, we are too much inclined. These, your friends, however, are altogether a disgrace to their 'country;' for whatever has been bestowed from above upon 'our country,' in this respect, with exceeding arrogance, not to say impudence, they are treading underfoot. You must know, that we do not entertain any regard for 'our country,' which is not agreeable to God's holy Word. Neither in the meanwhile are we so ungrateful to 'our country,' nor have we so cast off every feeling of humanity, as rashly to despise the benefits which God has bestowed upon it. Nor have we so mean an opinion of the judgments of our countrymen, who resisted ungodliness even unto blood, as that, by reason of the clamours of individuals, possessing no weight whatever, we should brand them with the foulest marks of papistical impiety." (Orig. Letters, Parker Society, p. 757.)

[f] The second Liturgy of Edward VI., 1552.

[g] "As for '*Lights*,' we never had any; and with respect to '*Crosses*,' if we ever made use of them, these friends of yours have not imposed upon you."—Reply of Cox, &c., Orig. Lett., p. 757.—The remonstrants (in their account of this matter, published in 1575, A Brieff Discours, &c., p. LIIII.) freely acknowledge that they had *not* charged King Edward's second Liturgy with prescribing

flowed from superstition. Whence I hold, that those who retain them, while they possess liberty of choice, draw too eagerly from dregs. Nor do I see what purpose can be answered by burdening the Church with frivolous and useless (not to call them by their proper name, noxious) ceremonies, where we enjoy the liberty of establishing a pure and simple order. But I restrain myself, lest I should appear to be exciting fresh strife on a matter which has been well terminated.

[[h] All good men will allow the pastors' and other ministers' elections with common voices, so that none complain that the other part of the Church was oppressed fraudulently and with crafty practices. For it stands your wisdoms in hand to consider that how much commodity the goodness of the Senate doth deserve, so much envy shall you be guilty of, or charged withal, if you have abused their lenity or gentleness, which were so well affected towards your nation. Yet I would not have this so taken, that I go about to be prejudicial to any man, but I had rather shew plainly what may be said, than to nourish an ill opinion by silence, or in holding my peace.]

I will not, however, disguise my opinion, that Knox[i] has been neither piously nor fraternally dealt with, if he has been criminally accused[k] by the private pique of any parties: for it would

"*Lights and Crosses.*" "Bycause that Maister Calvin in his letter maketh mention off *Lightes*, some might gather that he was vntrvely enformed, that in the Englishe Booke Lightes were prescribed (the contrary whereoff appeareth by the description before) where it is manifest to such as be lerned that he vsethe the figure auxesis, and that this is his argument, *a majore ad minus*, for so muche as *Lightes* and *Crossinges* [*Crosses*, as Calvin and Cox had written] be 2. of the most ancientest ceremonies, hauing continued in the Churche aboue 13 hundreth yere, *are yet for such cause abolished;* howe muche more ought all other, that haue not had the like continuance, and yet abused, be vtterly remoued."—These admissions are valuable, as shewing, on Cox's testimony in 1555, (*only three years after the introduction of Edward's second Liturgy*,) that *Lights* and *Crosses* were not in use; and on the testimony of the Frankfort Puritans, that they had been *abolished* by that Liturgy.

[h] The paragraph in brackets is omitted in Beza's Latin translation of this Letter in Calvin's works; and is found only in A Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Frankfort, &c., p. LII.

[i] Beza concealed the name under the letter N., in printing this letter.

[k] Cox and his associates denounced Knox, somewhat ungenerously, to the Frankfort Senate, as the author of a book entitled "An Admonition of Christians concerning the present troubles of England;" in which he had written

have been better to have remained in their country, than to carry into distant regions the torch of unjust severity, which may inflame even the reluctant. Nevertheless, since it is grievous even lightly to touch on faults, the remembrance of which I desire to bury in perpetual oblivion, I will simply exhort you, venerable brethren, to endeavour to heal the just offence of those whose minds you may be conscious of having deeply wounded.[1]

When I heard that some parties had an intention of leaving your city, I strongly admonished them, as was only right, if it were inexpedient that all should inhabit the same place, to be careful that distance of situation should not dissipate brotherly concord: for I was apprehensive that a concealed grudge might survive bygone strife. Nothing was more gratifying to me than to be delivered from this fear; for, if it should happen that any of them should fix their residence among us, even the mere suspicion of any concealed dissension among you would occasion me concern. I therefore earnestly hope that the reconciliation, of which your letter informs me, may be firm and unshaken; so that, should any party migrate elsewhere, you may mutually cultivate a holy friendship, though separated by place. For, even though this discord should not spread more widely, still more than enough error has been committed. In order that mutual regard may be retained, your prudence and equity must be exerted in diligently purging out any residuum of alienated feeling.

Farewell, respected brethren. The Lord preserve you by His guardianship, rule you by His Spirit, follow you by His blessing,

severely about Queen Mary, Philip, and Charles V.—In consequence of this charge, he was banished from Frankfort, which city he quitted on the 26th of March, 1555. On the same day the magistrates directed that King Edward's Service Book (1552) should be used in the English Church at Frankfort. (See Strype's Memorials, III., i., 406.)

[1] Calvin's sharp, and not well-deserved, rebuke, brought back a smart retort from Cox, Becon, and others. They conclude their long letter (Orig. Lett., pp. 755-763) thus:—"We pray God to bestow upon them [Knox, Whittingham, &c.] a better mind, and we earnestly intreat you no longer to mix yourself up in so hateful a business, lest some disparagement should arise to your reputation which we desire should at all times be most honourable and holy. May the Lord Jesus preserve you as an especial ornament to His Church! Frankfort, Sep. 20, 1555."

and mitigate the affliction of your banishment. My colleagues lovingly salute you.

Geneva, 12th June,[m] 1555.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

[[n] *To the worshipful my loving brethren in the Lord Maister Richard Coxe, and the rest of the Englishmen which now remain at Frankfort.*]

CXIII.

CALVIN TO MARTYR.

GENEVA, *August* 8, 1555.

[Latin, Calvini Opera IX. 100, col. 1, edit. Amstelodami, folio, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

ALTHOUGH I promised to write[o] to you, on the secret Communion which we have with Christ, yet I shall not treat this subject so largely as you hoped: nevertheless, as the matter is one of vast importance, I think it may be profitable to state my opinion definitely in a few words.

That the Son of God put on our flesh, in order that He might become our Brother, partaker of the same nature,—is a Communion on which I do not mean to speak here: for I propose to treat only on—

1. *That Communion*[p] *which flows from His heavenly influence, and breathes life into us, and makes us to coalesce into one body with Himself.* But I affirm, that, as soon as we receive Christ by faith, as He offers Himself to us in the Gospel, we are truly

The date is "this last of Maie," in The Brieff Discours.

[n] This address is from "The Brieff Discours of the Troubles," &c., p. LI.

[o] Martyr wrote to Calvin on the 8th of March, stating his own sentiments, and requesting Calvin's. See this letter, supra, p. 340.

[p] This letter, as printed by Beza, is not divided into two sections: they are, however, here numbered for the sake of perspicuity.

made His members, and His life flows to us from Him as from our Head. For He reconciles us to God by the sacrifice of His death, in no other way than as He is ours and we are one with Him. Thus I interpret that place of St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 9, where he says the faithful are called into the Communion (*κοινωνια*) of His [Son]: for the word Fellowship (*Consortium*) or Society [*Societas*] does not seem sufficiently to express his mind; but, in my judgment, he designates that sacred unity by which the Son of God engrafts us into His body, so that He communicate to us all that is His. We so draw life from His flesh and His blood, that they are not improperly called our food. How that is done, is, I confess, far deeper than the measure[q] of my understanding; and, therefore, I rather receive[r] this mystery, than labour to comprehend it; except that I acknowledge that life is transfused from heaven to[s] earth by the Divine influence of the Spirit; for, neither could the flesh of Christ be life-giving by itself, nor could its efficacy[t] reach as far as us, except through the immense operation of the Spirit. Hence it is the Spirit who makes Christ to dwell in us, to sustain us, to quicken us, and to fulfil all the offices of the Head. In the meantime, I shut up every approach to gross notions of any mixture of substance; for it is sufficient for me, while the Body of Christ dwells in celestial glory, that life flows from Him to us in the same manner as the root transmits sap to the branches.

But though I see that the ancients, especially Hilary [of Poictiers] and Cyril [of Alexandria] were carried much too far, yet I am not disposed severely to censure their hyperbolas, except when it is sought to prop up error by their authority, an attempt to which I always distinctly oppose myself. For while they[u] contend, that Christ is of one substance (*ὁμοουσιον*) with

[q] "Modulus." [r] "Suspicio;" probably for "suscipio."
[s] "In terram." [t] "Vis."

[u] That is, Hilary and Cyril. The passages more immediately referred to by Calvin, occur in Hilar. Pictav. De Trin. viii. 7, and in Cyril. Alexand. in Johan. xi., Op. iv. 997; and in the discussion which follows, in each of these writers, on the nature of our communion with Christ and with each other. It is worthy of remark, that the very same patristic authorities, of which Calvin here speaks, are precisely those on which Mr. (late Archdeacon) Wilberforce, and Archdeacon Denison relied for their dogma on the actual presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist. See the passages from Cyril and

the Father, since it is written, "I and my Father are one" [John x. 30]; and while the Arians retort, what is immediately added, "That they also may be one with Us" [John xvii. 21]; these persons, ensnared by their own ignorance, fly to their wretchedly obscure position,[v] that we also are of the same essence with Christ. By this admission, of course they are involved in many absurdities. Still, provided these new fusionists[w] do not thrust their authority [*i.e.*, the authority of these Fathers] upon us, I shall be satisfied in not subscribing, and I shall not voluntarily drag them into the arena.

2. I come now to *a second Communion*, which, as I think, is the fruit and effect of the former. For after that Christ, by the interior influence of His Spirit, has bound us to Himself and united us to His Body, *He exerts a second influence of His Spirit, enriching us by His gifts.* Hence,—that we are strong in hope and patience,—that we soberly and temperately keep ourselves from worldly snares,—that we strenuously bestir ourselves to the subjugation of carnal affections,—that the love of righteousness and piety flourishes in us,—that we are earnest in prayer,—that meditation on the life to come draws us upwards,[x]—this, I maintain, flows from that second Communion, by which Christ, dwelling in us not ineffectually,[y] brings forth the influence of His Spirit in His manifest gifts. Nor is it absurd, that Christ, when we coalesce into His Body, communicates to us His Spirit, by whose secret operation He first was made ours; since Scripture often assigns both offices to Him. For, although the faithful come into this Communion on the very first day of their calling; nevertheless, inasmuch as the life of Christ

Hilary, quoted at length, and the false adduction of their pretended authority by Wilberforce and Denison exposed, by Rev. W. Goode, in his Nature of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist, i. 543-571, and 571-581.—Bishop Jewel, also, writing only seven years after Calvin penned this letter, observes: "The greatest weight of this matter lieth upon two old Fathers, Cyril and Hilary. . . Notwithstanding, M. Harding has found in these two Fathers that Christ's body is corporally and naturally in us, yet hath he not hitherto found that same thing which he sought for, neither in these Fathers, nor in any other; that is, that Christ's body is naturally or corporally in the Sacrament." Jewel's Reply to Harding, Works, Parker Society, i. 475.

[v] "Latebra."

[w] "Fusores."

[x] "Sursùm rapit;"—snatches us above.

[y] "Otiosus."

increases in them, He daily offers Himself to be enjoyed by them. This is the Communion which they receive in the Sacred Supper.

Were I teaching any other person, I should follow up this subject more diffusely; in addressing you, I have glanced at it briefly, with the simple view of shewing you that we entirely agree in sentiment.

* * * * * *

May the Lord ever defend you, rule you by His Spirit, and follow you with His blessing.

Geneva, August 8, 1555.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

CXIV.

A MARTYR,[a] IN PRISON, TO HIS WIFE.

About 1555.

[Autograph, Additional MSS. Brit. Mus., 19400, No. IV.]

* *Now first published.*

DERE WIFF,—Riches I haue non to leaue behynd me, wherw'th to endowe you after the worldes man'er; but that treasure of tastyng how sweet Christ is vnto hungrye consciences, wherof I thanke my Christ I do feele p'te and wold feele more: that I bequeth vnto you, and to the rest of my beloued in Christ, to reteyn the same. . . . . Pray. . . . . I am mery, and I trust I shalbe more mery, magre[b] the teeth of all deuelles in hel. I vtterly res . . . myself, and resigne myself vnto my Christ, in whom I know I shalbe strong as He seeth nedefull. Pray, pray, pray.

[a] Probably John Careless; or perhaps Richard Rothe. This was a common form of concluding, with John Careless. See Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs, pp. 464, 436, 439, 486, Bickersteth's edit. 1837. So with Richard Rothe, p. 526.

[b] For "Maugre?"

CXV.

CALVIN TO AN UNNAMED PERSON.[c]

GENEVA? 1556.

[Latin: Calvini Opera IX. 110, col. 1, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

* * * * * *

IN the controversy among the English,[d] I endeavoured to observe a moderation of which I do not repent. If I have displeased our N.,[e] I had very good reason, which I doubt not I shall approve to all wise judges. And yet that indignation was forced out from me by the sincere and truly fraternal love which I entertain for him; for I was as much grieved that he had damaged himself, as I could have been had a calamity fallen on myself. It is now to no purpose to express how much I have been afflicted by the unhappy result, of which I was always apprehensive. . . . 1556.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

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[c] Probably one of the Frankfort opponents of Cox. The greater part of this letter is occupied in pointing out his faults:—"ostentation; an immoderate fervour in meddling; and a proud and confident manner in his carriage and language."

[e] Dr. Cox? See Calvin's Letter to him, above, p. 345, and Dr. Cox's replies, Original Letters, Parker Society, pp. 753, 755.

CXVI.

MARTYR TO CALVIN.

STRASBURGH, *February* 16, 1556.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1114.—English Translation by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 100, col. 2.]

New Translation.

YOUR little [f]book which you have sent to me, illustrious Sir, and most akin to me in the feeling and the mind of Christ, has given me exceeding pleasure. I devoured rather than read it in a single night. For the letter-carrier desired to depart on the day following that on which he delivered it to me. My opinion of it is this: Whoever shall read it carefully, will derive at once two advantages of no mean kind from his study. First, he will have a very decided and clear insight into the Eucharistic Controversy, which God, in His goodness, has been pleased should in our age be again manifested to the Churches of Christ: for it was so obscured and involved in darkness, that scarcely any slender traces of the truth respecting it were to be traced; and these were recognised by very few. But I hold its illustration to be so great a good, that, without it, God cannot be purely worshipped in His Church. Some there are who would have this matter to lie buried and concealed for the common peace; but, unless that well-spring of many evils be abolished, I shall think that a great part of Christian doctrine is lacking in Christ's Church. On which account, in the past week, when N. was staying with us, I wrote a very prolix letter to the Churches of Poland, in which I have honestly and clearly dwelt with the greatest pains upon the true meaning of the Holy Scriptures on this Sacramentarian question. I pray God that He may not suffer my letter to be fruitless.

But the second advantage of your book is this,—that Westphal, and the like of him, who cannot be appeased by humane and gentle admonitions, must by this kind of charm be driven

[f] His answer to Westphal.

back to their lurking-places, whence they had emerged; that, like serpents, they may nourish and delight themselves only with their own venom, and not dare any more to spue that over others and kill them. Will they complain that you have been bitter and vehement in writing? We shall ask, in reply, why Westphal, like Cecias, did surround himself with these clouds, rains, hail, and storms of thunder and lightning? Will they bemoan that this conflict has been such a bloody struggle? We shall reply that Cyclops and Centaurs can in no other way be tamed. Will some of them deplore that it has been carried on with too bitter, or as they have elsewhere said, scurrilous personality? We shall answer that the gladiatorial impudence of Westphal has been met, not with the petulance of buffoons, but with stout arguments and the strongest reasonings. In fine, let others be responsible for their own opinion; I am highly delighted with what you have written, and it has my entire approbation. Wherefore I thank you most heartily both for the labour which you have well bestowed in writing, and for the little Book you have sent to me.

Farewell, most illustrious Sir, much to be revered and beloved in Christ. May Christ long preserve you to us. Zanchy salutes you. Be so kind as to salute in my name the brethren, and especially Marchio.

Strasburgh, Feb. 16, 1556.

[PETER MARTYR.]

CXVII.

ZANCHY TO BULLINGER.

STRASBURGH (*April* 6?),[s] 1556.

[Hieronymi Zanchii Epistolæ, Lib. ii. 32, 8vo., Hanoviæ, 1609. Opera, f. 279, edit. folio, Heidleberg, 1613.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

* * * * * *

FROM England we have received the following information. The Papists, had spread abroad false reports, (undoubtedly by

[s] A letter was written by Sampson to Bullinger, April 6, 1556, on the same subject. See Original Letters, Parker Society, p. 173.

the command, or at least the consent of that impious Jezebel,) that the Archbishop of Canterbury [Cranmer] had recanted and had returned to the Romish Church. They took care that this recantation, forged by themselves, should be confirmed by the false testimonies of certain persons, and then should be printed. When these things came to the knowledge of that holy man, he altogether denied it; and openly and publicly made it known to the whole kingdom, that this Palinodia was forged, and that nothing was further from his mind than such a blasphemy and recantation; for that he firmly believed and confessed, and would defend and seal with his blood even unto death, that doctrine which he had hitherto taught, promoted, and caused to be promoted in that Kingdom of England. Hence, the forgeries of those impostors having been detected, on the 17th of March a certain impious Doctor (—I do not just now recall his name—) was sent by the Queen to Oxford to Cranmer. For what end?—A letter, which was afterwards written from Antwerp to D. Cook,[h] informs us D. Cook received that letter yesterday from Antwerp. It tells him, that that holy and pious Archbishop of Canterbury departed through the flames to the Lord on the 21st of March,—with an unbroken mind, with an unshaken faith, and with an unceasing confession of Jesus Christ, and of the Evangelical doctrine! There are some here who distrust this intelligence that he is certainly dead; since the letter came from Antwerp, and none from England. Nevertheless, D. Cook, many other Englishmen, and our Peter [Martyr], believe that the information, contained in the letter written from Antwerp, is true; since they themselves received letters from England a little before, on the mission of that Doctor from London to Antwerp, and on that forged recantation.

We have cause to thank the Lord, excellent man of God, that, by the blood of so many and such distinguished men, in various places, but especially in that Kingdom of England, He condescends daily to seal the most holy Gospel of His Son, for the confirmation of our faith, and for the stablishment of His saints. It cannot but be, that that ground which has been irrigated by so much blood of Martyrs, should bring forth joyful harvests to the Lord, and that thus the Church of Christ should

[h] Sir Anthony Cook was an exile at Strasburgh. He was united with Sir John Cheke in the tuition of Edward VI.

be united in one body! It cannot but be, that so much blood should cry out from the earth to the Lord, "O meretricious woman! barbarous, impious, and devoid of all humanity!" May the Lord quickly manifest His judgments against her, and bring her to destruction! Farewell.

JEROME ZANCHY.

CXVIII.

MARTYR TO BULLINGER.

STRASBURGH, *May* 7, 1556.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1115.—English Translation by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 109, col. 2.]

New Translation.

I HAVE received your letter, most illustrious Sir, and highly to be esteemed in the Lord; it is full of the highest courtesy and Christian love, and informs me that, in the choice of a successor to the good and pious man [Pellican] now no more, you have been kindly mindful of your Martyr. I am sure I deserve not so brilliant an honour; but whatever I understand is most kindly done by you and your colleagues, I must attribute in accepting it to your goodness and Christian affection. Do not, then, doubt that your invitation has been most gratifying to me; but our School and Senate took it very ill, and endeavoured in many ways and by manifold methods to deter me from obeying your call. But I abide by my determination; for I esteem the Consent of Religion and Piety above every other consideration; and when I was asked my own inclination by our magnificent and honourable Senate, I concealed nothing, but I showed that the mission would be most pleasing to me; not that I am ungrateful or forgetful of benefits, for I know that I am much indebted to this noble Republic, from which I would indeed by no means suffer myself to be withdrawn, if I could agree with her Ministers on the doctrine of the Sacraments. So when I despaired of that, I

declared that I wished to go where I was summoned by most affectionate brethren; and an opportunity having offered, I complained to our magistracy that my doctrine concerning the Eucharist was in such an unmeasured and shameless way publicly traduced by Ministers in this state. I added that I was very much surprised and sorry, too, that they were unwilling to allow teaching and disputing on this matter in the Schools, while yet they tolerated in the Churches sermons so weak[1] and bitter. In fine, I have twice discoursed in public, and sometimes before appointed moderators; and I quite hoped that the matter might have been settled in the past four days. But to-day the Senate made me answer that they perceived I had good and weighty cause for desiring the mission in question; but yet they thought that in so important a matter nothing should be done with precipitation; and therefore I am requested to bear with patience the postponement of a final answer for one month at least. For then they pledge themselves either to offer me such conditions that I can remain with them with a quiet conscience, or to set me free to betake myself to you, as I desire. I felt I could not in modesty and fairness refuse this request of the authorities, to whom I am much indebted, and among whom I know are many of my own opinion; especially when they added there were certain reasons on account of which they could not give me an absolute reply on the instant. I granted, therefore, though with regret, the delay which they requested. But I pray you be of good cheer. I will not cease to do my best that your invitation may not be ineffectual. A month will quickly pass; after which, as you desired in your letter, I will present myself at the feast of St. John, if the Lord shall permit, as I expect He will, that the affair be brought to a conclusion.

How much I am indebted to your most courageous and withal discreet Senate for the proffered invitation, and the letter sent here, I have intimated in my reply and have expressed my thanks. Still I pray you, most illustrious Sir, to have the goodness to express yourself to them also more fully and freely in my name. Once again I thank all your colleagues and my most beloved brethren in Christ, to whom I would now most

[1] Adeo impotentes.

gladly have written, but I have been unable at this time on account of those conferences and conversations with my friends who come to me every hour upon this matter. I beseech you have the goodness to offer them my excuse. For I will write again as soon as I possibly can, or perhaps I shall myself be with them earlier than they expect. I have detained your messenger two days longer than was right; but I did so because I hoped that the matter might be settled in this three days' time. I pray you therefore take this his delay kindly, and let it not be imputed to my blame. Salute my fellow-ministers, and all my colleagues, Farewell, and live happy in Christ.

Strasburgh, May 7, 1556.

[PETER MARTYR.]

CXIX.

MARTYR'S CONFESSION ON THE LORD'S SUPPER, EXHIBITED TO THE SENATE OF STRASBURGH, ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF MAY,[a] 1556, WHEN HE WAS CALLED TO ZURICH.

STRASBURGH, *about May* 15, 1556.

[Latin: Martyris "Scripta Eucharistica," at the end of his "Loci Communes," p. 1068, edit. Lond., 1583:—English Translation by Marten in "Collection of Certeine Divine Matters," at the end of the "Common Places," p. 138, edit. Lond., 1583.]

New Translation.

1. OUR Saviour Jesus Christ consists of two natures, conjoined in one and the same person or substance,[b] without any confounding or intermingling of them, the properties and conditions of each being preserved whole and entire. And so it is conceded without controversy to Christ's Divinity, which is infinite, and circumscribed by no measures or limits; so that it is everywhere. But His Humanity requires from its very nature and truth such circumscription, limits, and bounds, that it can neither be in

[a] Between May 7 and May 22: see his letters to Bullinger of those dates.

[b] Hypostasi.

every place nor in any but a definite place; not through the infirmity of Divine power, but by the perpetual and unchangeable condition of human nature. For as it can never be that either the number Three should be Six, or that a transaction of yesterday should be undone, so it is impossible that what is a human body should *not* be a human body, the definition of which necessarily includes magnitude, distinct parts, and members. Wherefore all who diffuse it and will have it to be as widely expanded as the Divine Word, and on that account to be either omnipresent or in many places, affirm that what is a human body is *not* a human body, and that what is created is *not* a creature:—for it is not a property of any creature, as being finite, to be at once in many places; but the Church has never questioned that Christ is, as to His Human Nature, a creature of the Word of God. Christ, therefore, as far as He is Man, has left the world, and His Bodily presence is not enjoyed by us. For He has ascended with it into Heaven, "which must hold or receive Him, until the time of restitution of all things," as Peter has taught in the Acts of the Apostles [iii. 21.].

2. I believe that the Sacrament of the Eucharist was so ordained by our Saviour Christ, as that, on the use of His words (which promise true communion of the faithful with Him) and the employment of the symbols of bread and wine (which are efficacious instruments of the Holy Spirit, so far as the faithful are concerned, during the celebration of the sacred supper)—faith is kindled in us by which we may really, not feignedly, receive in our soul both His Body and His Blood, as they were delivered for us unto death and the Cross for the remission of sins. Which reception, although it be of things absent, and done in the soul, yet profiteth not the soul only, but redounds also to the body of the recipients, so that by a certain power of sanctification and spiritual union, it is made capable of a blessed resurrection and of eternal life. Wherefore I cannot admit or recognise any real or substantial or corporal presence of the Body of Christ, either in the symbols or in the communicants themselves. Yet at the same time I doubt not, but do affirm, that a spiritual communion and participation of His Body and Blood is given to the communicants; which, nevertheless, may be had before eating the Sacrament, but is increased by the exercise of faith in the feeding on the Mystery. For unless we were

in communion with the Body and Blood of Christ *before* the reception of the Eucharist, we should be aliens from Him, devoid of faith, and should unworthily draw nigh to the Table of His spiritual banquet.

3. They who are destitute of true faith towards Christ, though they approach to the reception of the symbols, the bread and the wine, are yet in no wise partakers of His Body and Blood, except so far as those signs are [c]distinguished by the name of the Lord's Body and Blood. For such is the connexion between the sacred signs and the things signified, that their names are easily interchanged in Divine Writ. For on the one hand the Flesh of Christ is called bread, as we see in the 6th of John [verse 51], and the bread in the sacred supper is called the Body of Christ [Matt. xxvi. 26]. So also the Lord and the Jews were wont to say [Matt. xxvi. 17] they ate the Passover, when they were eating the lamb, by which the Passover,—*i. e.*, the passing over,—was set forth. I might in like manner concede that the wicked take the Lord's Body, because they receive the signs of it. And as in the desert they that murmured ate manna, and drank water of the rock, yet had no communion with the Christ that was looked for; so, on the other hand, the devout and pious Hebrews, eating and drinking together with them, were partakers of spiritual food and drink with us. And to prevent our doubting what that food or that drink might be, which they shared with us, Paul explains it in 1 Cor. x. [4], saying, "They did all drink of the spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ." Further, the wicked, who are without that instrument by which the Lord's Body and Blood are taken, I mean faith, on that very account do not receive the things signified, but only the symbols of those things. But they that are endued with faith, as they eat and drink the signs with the mouth of their body, so by faith and the mouth of the soul they do verily receive the Body and Blood of Christ.

4. Those words, "This is my Body" (Matt. xxvi. 26), are spoken by the Lord altogether tropically. For when He took the bread into His hands, and showed it to the Apostles reclining at table, He could not affirm of it that it was His Body, unless it ceased to be bread. For who would say, in strictness of speech,

[c] "Donantur."

that bread was a human body? No one in his senses. For those substances are in form and nature wholly distinct and separate; so that one can by no means be the other. Since, then, a trope is to be employed, it behoves to employ that one which is best suited to the Sacraments. Now, the received definition of Sacraments is, that they are signs of sacred things. Just as the victim was with the Hebrews called the Passover, because it signified the Passover (*i. e.*, the passing over); and Circumcision, God's covenant, as being the sign thereof; and, in like manner, the rock of which the ancient worthies drank was called Christ;—so the Eucharistic bread is called the Lord's Body, because it signifies that, in no common-place, scenic, or theatrical signification, but an efficacious one, inasmuch as the Holy Spirit uses that instrument to excite faith in us, whereby we may receive the promised communion of the Lord's Body. I would grant, moreover, that the bread itself is, in its own peculiar manner, the Body of Christ, and is so called because, namely, it is its Sacrament. For both Scripture and the Fathers often so speak of the Sacraments. But they who hold the opposite opinion will themselves, too, perhaps, concede a trope in the words cited; or, rather, being compelled of necessity, they thus explain that phrase:—"This is my Body,"—*i. e.*, "With this—namely, bread—is my Body given." And I, too, should not object to admit this interpretation, if they would understand that the Body of Christ is given without a substantial or corporal presence. But, since they will not allow this, I, for the avoiding of ambiguity, abstain from that kind of trope, and am contented with the common and received one of *signification*, which the Fathers, too, of old employed.

5. The state of our controversy hinges on this,—that it is thought by many that the Body of Christ cannot be truly communicated unless it be (so to speak) really and corporally present. But, in my opinion, they do not see the power of faith with sufficient clearness. For they do not consider that by it things are made present to us which else were far removed. Even the ancients, as many as were pious, according to Paul's testimony [1 Cor. x. 3], received the same food and the same spiritual drink with us, *i.e.*, the Body and Blood of the Lord, as is told the Corinthians. Nor was the great interval of time, after which these things had their first existence on the birth of

Christ, any obstacle to their true spiritual communion. For they were rendered present to these by faith. Why then should intervals of space, which are between heaven where Christ is and ourselves, afford any hindrance to our true enjoyment of His Body and Blood and our being quickened thereby? They afford no hindrance at all, if faith be present to enable our souls, through the assistance of God's Word and Sacraments, to be lifted up to Heaven, and be there refreshed by the spiritual food and drink of Christ's Body and Blood, and be recreated unto eternal life. And while I mention *Heaven* from time to time, I use no metaphor, but understand in very fact those celestial spheres into which Christ was received, when He ascended from us, as Holy Scripture relates [Luke xxiv. 51].

6. Each one of the faithful, as being a member of Christ wherever he may be, has Him for his head, and is truly and most intimately conjoined with Him, so that he draws from thence life and spirit, which so flow from the Godhead that they are derived unto us through the Body and Blood of the Lord which were delivered up to death. For God communicates no heavenly gift to mortals except through the "one Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus," as Paul says to Timothy [1 Tim. ii. 5]. Whence it comes that our bones and our flesh, so far as they partake of heavenly regeneration and eternal life are "of His Bones and of His Flesh," as the same Apostle hath taught the Ephesians [v. 30]. For unless they were dependent thereon, and in spiritual coherence with them, they would draw through them from God unto themselves neither regeneration, nor eternal life, nor the Spirit. Whence, although great intervals of space be interposed between us and Christ's Body, we yet depend upon Him, and are wondrously joined unto Him, and since that unity is spiritual, secret and Divine, no substantial and corporal presence of His Body and Blood is required, and we on that account do not assume it, because it is repugnant to the verity of the Lord's Human Nature, and is plainly at variance with the testimony of Scripture.

In human affairs when a man travels on account of some business that arises into a distant country and leaves his wife for the while at home, he does not therefore cease to be one flesh

with her, as Scripture says. So that their true, proper, and legitimate union remains intact, although one be never so far distant from the other. How much more doth Christ, who is, as the Apostle says [Eph. v. 23], the Spouse of the Church, remain in union with all His members, although He be gone into Heaven, and departed in the Body?

For that union, then, which we have with the Lord, His Body, His Blood, and His Bones, there is no need of physical contact, or of conjoined, continuous, or contiguous locality. The Spirit alone and faith are indispensable, for by these we are knit in closest union to the complete Christ, our Spouse and Saviour. They who deny that this true union with the Flesh of Christ is brought about and enjoyed without His substantial and corporal Presence, seem to allow too little to the power of God; and yet are all the while constantly exhorting us to regard it, when we judge that the Body of Christ cannot be everywhere, or in many places, at once. Let them employ the same appliance[cc] which they extend to others; and let them concede that power in God which truth and our pious sentiment demand. This being granted, nothing will be detracted from the Lord's Humanity, the nature of the Sacrament will be untampered with, and we shall find our sentiments at unison with the oracles of Divine Writ.

7. In the Augustan Confession there is nothing, as far as I can perceive, which may not be brought into harmony with the sentiments I have just expressed in this matter. But inasmuch as it is quite clear we have very little agreement, *εν τῳ ῥητῳ και διανοιᾳ*, (in the purpose and intent of it,) I have been desirous to explain what I gather and believe out of God's Word, that none may hereafter complain with justice that they have been trifled with. And I have summed up, as briefly as might be, these matters about which I can no longer remain silent, with a safe and clear conscience, either in teaching, disputing, or writing.

I therefore pray that in this matter of the substantial and corporal presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Supper, and in the other matters which I have now related, I may have liberty freely and clearly to deliver my sentiments in writing and

[cc] "Remedium."

in speech, whenever I shall find opportunity. And if this appears impossible to allow, I crave, in all kindly feeling and with permission of your most high authorities, that I may be dismissed.

[PETER MARTYR.]

CXX.

MARTYR TO BULLINGER.

STRASBURGH, *May* 22, 1556.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1116.—English Translation by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 108, col. 1.]

New Translation.

WHAT you have written to me, most illustrious Sir, abundantly evidences your mind and will towards me, on which account I offer you the highest thanks. But meanwhile I have scarcely anything to say in reply, but that I hold you all, your Church, your School, and high authorities in my inmost heart. I abide by my opinion, and I am wholly bent on joining you, nor (I trust) shall I be disappointed in my desire. There is indeed no lack of obstacles, so that this delay which our High Senate has desired for deliberation before giving me my dismissal is no less obnoxious to me than to you. For learned men of no mean authority come to me from time to time, being connected with me in intimate ties of friendship and familiarity, and try their best to dissuade me from my purposed departure. The Gallic Church adhering to our own Confession tries to hinder me, and there are many in the School and the Senate really favourable to our views who say that my departure will do very much injury. But yet by God's grace those considerations do not as yet move me, because I see that their Church of Germany is altogether alien from me in doctrine; nor do I think there is any hope of reconciliation.

Since, however, I have been requested by my Lords, that I would comprise in a brief writing my views on the Sacramen-

tarian question, so far as relates to the Eucharist, that it may so be ascertained how the preachers of this city differ from me, I have not declined to do so, and I have set down my opinion, briefly it is true, but so clearly and plainly that they who do not understand it must be stones. Wherefore I think that my opponents will rather prefer my departure from hence than to allow such teaching in the schools, such disputation, or such writing on the part of a professor of this city. I await their reply. I know they will not abandon their usual obstinacy. Meanwhile I shall avail myself of your kindness, which I doubt not has been brought to me by God, whom I have for nearly three years daily petitioned (I have indeed) that He would either render this my calling tolerable or provide for me in another. When therefore He seems to have heard my prayer and unexpectedly offered me what I desired, I should be ungrateful if I embraced it not (as they say) with both arms. I would now send you the document which I have delivered to our most high and noble Senate, but I have no copy with me but one written in my own private hand which you would never be able to read, but I hope to shew it you myself. I will have a care to what you have suggested, and use my utmost diligence not to be deceived. Meanwhile I owe you thanks for twofold reasons on account of this summons you offer me. For you have opened a convenient, seasonable, and honourable road for my departure hence, and so an opportunity has been afforded me of twice declaring, openly before the authorities, not merely by word of mouth, but in writing, what my faith and feeling is concerning the Eucharist; and I hope by God's favour this will not be useless. I easily understand what you write concerning D. Zanchy, that it would be agreeable to him that I should stay here; but I persuade myself he will acquiesce in our reasonable wishes when he shall talk with me. Meanwhile, farewell. Do not deprive me of the voice of your prayers. About my coming to you, doubt not I do everything; I leave no stone unturned, to procure my dismissal. Strasburgh, May 22, 1566.

I beg you will offer my apology to our fellow-ministers for not writing now to them. For on account of the absence of Marbach and Zanchy I am so overwhelmed with business that I have no leisure.

Very sad news have to-day reached us from Antwerp, that Sir [John] Cheke,[f] an Englishman, tutor to King Edward, of sacred memory, especially at one with us in doctrine, and a man of great repute for learning and integrity, has been captured,

Sir John Cheke was tutor to Edward VI., and a Privy Councillor. He was, says Strype, "one of the greatest lights of learning and true goodness in the University of Cambridge." In 1555 he escaped from the persecution of Mary to Strasburgh. On the 15th of May, 1556, taking a journey to visit his old friends, Lord Paget and Sir John Mason, and returning from Brussels to Antwerp with Sir Peter Carew, "he was suddenly apprehended in the way [at a village called Fulfort] by the Provost-Marshal, bound, and thrown into a cart, with his legs, arms, and body tied to it, and so conveyed on shipboard, brought a prisoner into England, and clapped up as some great malefactor in the Tower of London; and at length was forced to subscribe to the Popish doctrines, and recant publicly his former good professions of the Gospel. . . . . This pretended conversion was accompanied with abundance of bitter tears; . . . . and because he had, with Peter, denied Christ, he therefore wept bitterly with Peter. . . . . At length, having his liberty, he retired to the house of his old learned friend, Mr. Peter Osborn, living in the parish of St. Alban's, Wood-street, where he fell into exceeding melancholy and trouble of mind, and in great repentances ended his miserable life within less than a year after, and lies buried in the church of the said parish: in the north chapel of the choir of which church there was, before the fire of London, a fair plated gravestone, which lay upon him, with the date of his death, viz., Sept. 13, 1557, and a copy of verses: for the preserving of which monument and epitaph we are beholding to Mr. Stow. The verses were:—

"'Doctrinæ lumen, Checus, morumque magister,
Aurea naturæ fabrica, morte jacet.
Non erat e multis unus, sed is omnibus unus
Profuit, et patriæ lux erat ille suæ.
Gemma Britanna fuit, tam magnum nulla tulerunt
Tempora thesaurum, tempora nulla ferent.'

Which verses were composed by his great friend and acquaintance, the elegant Dr. Walter Haddon." (Strype, Mem. III., i., p. 516.)

"In such cases as these we should not censure too hardly, but rather say as Archbishop Matthew Parker writ upon this poor man's recantation, *Homines sumus*, *i. e.*, 'We are men;' or as one John de Hoo, an abbot of old, of Vale Royal, being a meek and compassionate man, used to say of those that were guilty of such frailties,—

"'Peccantes dampnare cave, nam labimur omnes:
Aut sumus,—aut fuimus,—vel possumus—esse quod hic est.'

"'Condemn not thy poor brother,
That doth before thee lay;
Since there is none but falls:
I have,—thou dost,—all may.'"

(Strype's Cheke, p. 181.)

along with Sir Peter Carew, between Antwerp and Brussels, in a little town called Filfort. There is no hope for their life; indeed, it is said they are to be sent to England to the Queen. I suppose that a horrible example will be made of them. They are two excellent men, as is known to all Englishmen. Wherefore I pray you that prayers may be poured out by you and your holy Church for a sweet savour on their behalf, that they may either be rescued from their so imminent peril, or that a true and solid constancy may be granted them in Christ's name and in the confession of His truth. Farewell once more, and continue to love me as you do.

[PETER MARTYR.]

CXXI.

CALVIN TO JOHN CLAUBURG, SENIOR SENATOR AT FRANKFORT.

GENEVA, *June* 24, 1556.

[Latin, Calvini Opera, IX., f. 111, col. 1, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

* * * * *

I AM well aware how deeply this persuasion is fixed in the hearts of many,—that Infants, who depart from this world without Baptism, are hopelessly excluded from salvation. But it is well to consider, through what a light pretext this error has prevailed. That celebrated saying of Christ is quoted, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." [John iii. 5.] But I deny, firstly, that the external Baptism of water is there conjoined in the Regeneration of the Spirit; because rather the same thing is twice expressed, and the name "Spirit" is added expositatively. For it would have been absurd,—when Christ was wishing to despoil Nicodemus of his carnal imagination,[a] by casting down his pride, and lowering

[a] "Carnis suæ ingenio."

himself to true humility like a little child,—to begin from Baptism. But, though I should allow that Baptism is here spoken of, its necessity is not rigidly[b] urged, but the external sign is added to newness of life, as an accession; as though it had been said, that "an entrance into the kingdom of God does not lie open without newness of life, of which Baptism is the symbol." Certainly Luther, (whose name is pushed forward on every occasion by that party,) has well remarked, that, "when Christ said, by St. Mark, [Mark xvi. 16,] 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved,' He did not repeat, in the second clause, 'He that believeth not shall be damned.'" For, if there be no salvation without Baptism, the thief who was admitted into the kingdom of heaven without Baptism must be drawn out again. Now, as it is better to remove every doubt, we must always hold this principle:—that Baptism is not conferred on Infants, in order that they *may* become the sons and heirs of God; but that the privilege[c] of adoption is sealed by Baptism in their flesh, because *already*[d] they are reckoned by God as being in that place and rank. If it were not so, the Anabaptists would do right in repelling them from Baptism. Unless the truth of the outward sign belonged to them, it would be mere profanation to invite them to a participation of the sign itself. Moreover, if any one should deny them Baptism, we have a prompt reply: that they already belong to the flock of Christ and to the family of God; since the covenant of salvation into which God has entered with the faithful is common also to their children, according to the plain import of those words, "I will be a God unto thee, and unto thy seed after thee." [Gen. xvii. 7.] Unless this promise had preceded, by which God adopts the children of the faithful, not yet born, it is certain that it would be wrong to confer Baptism on them. Now I ask, Whether the word of God suffices for salvation by its own efficacy? or Whether it must borrow aid elsewhere, to supply its defect and to help its infirmity? If this promise be not believed to be efficacious in itself, not only the power of God, but His grace and His truth, will be tied to the outward sign. Thus those men, while they strive to exalt[e] Baptism, cast serious reproach on God. But now, what must be done with so many places, in which

[b] "Præcisè."
[c] "Gratia."
[d] "Jam."
[e] "Ornare."

Christ is content with faith alone?—They will deny that faith is separable from Baptism.—I acknowledge this, where the opportunity for its reception is granted. But if any one, who has embraced the Gospel of Christ, should be snatched away by sudden death, will they on that account consign him to perdition, because he lacked the outward washing? Does not ancient history furnish some examples of martyrs who were dragged away to punishment by their persecutors before they had offered themselves for Baptism? And, through the defect of water, shall the blood of Christ avail nothing to the holy martyr who did not shrink from shedding his blood for the faith of that Gospel which is the foundation of the common salvation of all? Undoubtedly the Papists were more modest, who, in this necessity at least, substitute the Baptism of blood for the washing of water. In short: unless we will subvert every principle of religion, we must allow that the salvation of an Infant is not *founded* on Baptism, but is only *sealed* by Baptism: whence it follows, that it is not rigidly and absolutely[f] necessary.

* * * * *

Geneva, June 24, 1556.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

CXXII.

MARTYR TO BULLINGER.

STRASBURGH, *June* 29, 1556.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog. edit. Lond. 1583, p. 1,117. English Translation by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 109, col. 1.]

New Translation.

THAT messenger who departed hence eight days ago, with a letter from your son to you, never informed me of his setting off. Wherefore, most illustrious Sir, and much to be revered in the Lord, you must not wonder that I myself did not write.

[f] "Nec præcisè nec simpliciter."

I was exceedingly anxious to do so, and I grieved not a little when I heard that an opportunity had thus escaped me.

Well, then, may it be propitious and for good that I have at length obtained my dismissal. It was granted me on S. John's Eve [June 23]. For up to that date did the authorities defer the matter, interpose long delay, and leave nothing undone to retain me. And at length they confessed to me that they dismissed me with great reluctance. I am getting ready for the journey, and trust that I shall leave this place at the end of nine days. On which account I will not write more, because I trust shortly to be with you in person. I come with alacrity and with all my heart, nor do I doubt that I shall be received by you with a ready and joyous mind. I hear your son has written to you about a house; which I did not myself ask him to do. But as he has done it I rejoice and have thanked him. On your part (see my boldness!) I promise myself everything; as I am prepared in turn to do anything for you. Numius hastens, and I am at this very time employed in arranging his books. So I will close my letter. I desire that all the brethren and my fellow-ministers be very kindly saluted, and that they be informed that I desire nothing more than to embrace them in person whom I entirely love and esteem in Christ. God ever preserve you in safety to us.

Strasburgh, June 29, 1556.

[P. MARTYR.]

CXXIII.

MARTYR TO LOUIS LAVATER.

STRASBURGH, *June* 30, 1556.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. London, 1583, p. 1,117.—English Translation, by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 111, col. 2.]

New Translation.

YOU have till now received no letter from me, most learned man, and dearly-beloved brother in Christ; because, up to this

time, I had nothing sure and certain to tell you of my coming to you. But now at length I write to inform you that my dismissal was at last accorded me on S. John's day [June 24]. In this matter I have spent so much labour, that I never obtained anything in my whole life with greater effort and difficulty. All the good and learned men withstood me with great energy; the authorities delayed up to this time, and, on dismissing me, testified in eloquent language that they did so reluctantly; and when I afterwards bid adieu to my lecture-room (a very crowded one), all who were present followed me, as I went out, with many tears. These things I detail to you, that you may understand that my desire to come to you was of no common kind.

So, then, my Lavater, you and my other colleagues have your wish. I am coming; and I am now wholly employed in preparing for the journey, which I should have done long since and more conveniently if I had obtained my dismissal more speedily. I will not write more, because I hope that I shall soon embrace you all face to face. Farewell, therefore; and love me as ever, and salute all the brethren in my name.

Strasburgh, June 30, 1556.

[P. MARTYR.]

CXXIV.

MARTYR TO AN UNKNOWN FRIEND.

ZURICH, *March* 15, 1557.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. London, 1583, p. 1,118.—English Translation, by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 116, col. 1.]

New Translation.

I WOULD not have you construe my having failed to reply by Abel's servant a few days ago as though your letter gave me little pleasure. I had entirely meant to do so; but having been hindered by lack of time, because he was in too much hurry, I have been compelled to defer till now what I had resolved to do then.

It was exceedingly delightful to me to hear what you tell me about my friend[g] Sir John Cheke. For it must be tolerated, however it be, in consideration of the sad fortunes of his predicament. Only let him show in fact that his faith has wavered rather than been shattered or extinguished. That he should be able to do this while he remains in England appears to me nearly incredible. For my own part I will pray my God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that with the most earnest supplication, that He will so repair our friend's shipwreck, by the Holy Spirit, that He may with less loss than seems possible one day reach the haven of safety.

As to the book of the Archbishop of Canterbury against [h] Antonius, which you say is now in the press, I am truly glad. So far am I from being in any way annoyed on that account. For I look for nothing from him but what is polished, witty, and elaborate. Only I fear what you have heard may not be true; so great a longing for it have you aroused in me.

I have no news at present to write to you. We are all well, and I am teaching here as I was once accustomed to do among you. God grant that I may not labour fruitlessly. Italy is now distracted with very severe wars, and seems likely to fare ill presently, and all through the malice of a single Pope. But the most High God, who governs all things by His own inscrutable providence, will perhaps in this mode wear away that Kingdom of Antichrist, and so diminish it in our own time, as to make it one day an object of ridicule and scorn to the pious. And I pray through Jesus Christ that this may be brought about as soon as may be. Farewell; and love me as you do; and bid my English brethren one and all hail in my name. My own brethren, Julius and Joellus, send you every good wish.

Zurich, March 15, 1557.

[P. MARTYR.]

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[g] See the note, p. 367, above, to Martyr's letter to Bullinger, May 22, 1556.

[h] Marcus Antonius, a name assumed by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in his answer to Cranmer on the Sacrament.

CXXV.

BONNER, BISHOP OF LONDON, TO CARDINAL POLE.

[FULHAM], before the 11th of *July*, 1558.

[Original in the Petyt MSS., Inner Temple, London, No. 538, Vol. XLVII., f. 407, a.—First published by John Bruce, Esq., in the Athenæum, Oct. 27, 1855.]

N.B. *The first part of this letter is so mutilated, as to be illegible.*

* * * * *

. . . . . at of h . . . .
. . . . . our flock . . . .
. . . . . Stephen Cotton[a] . . .
. . . commissioners yesterday advertised you . .
. . . per, by whom also I made a sute to be of . .
. . may doo me much good, but never to my churche [I] take myself in deed for one almost spent, and would be glad [if seeing I] some wayes hurted[b] my churche in the tyme of the worship[full Duke] of Somersette, I might by the good helpe of your Grace onto the [Queen's] maiestie, do it some good again, and my sute is soo consonant to lawe [and] iustice, that if I may be soo suffered as eny subiecte beying faythfull is suffered, that is to say, to sue, and be sued, I nothing dowte I shall by lawe obtayne. And in very dede if I were an heretike, and in the tyme of that noughty Duke and Dukes that were in the late tyme, I should not fayle to have my lyving encreased, assuring

[a] One of the "obstinate hereticks" taken at Islington, May 1, 1588, to whom the latter part of this letter refers. See a letter of Cotton's, Foxe's Martyrs, VIII. 525, written from Bonner's black prison, the "Coal-house," early in July, 1558.

[b] It would seem, that during the Protectorate of Somerset, Bonner had relinquished some lands which were in the possession of "his church." These lands were then in the possession of Lord Darcy, a well-known nobleman of that period. Bonner desired to be allowed, by the Queen's favour, to resume the lands he had relinquished. Probably the circumstances of this transaction might be recovered.

your Grace, of my fidelitie, that I do spende a great deale moor then is my lyvelede, wherein thoughe I doo playe the foole, yet suche is the place that I am in that I can not otherwyse doo, beseeching therefore yóur Grace most humblie ye wilbe the healpe and meane for me to the moost gracious good Queen, that when the Lord Darcye and other by unlawfull accones did vsurp with . . . Great Darcie Sudmyster and other thinges belonging to my churche, I may, with her Grace's favour, entre upon theym lawfully again, saying I never did any acte wherby in lawe I have forgonne theym.

Further may it please your Grace concernyng these obstinate heretikes[c] that doe remayne in my house, pestering the same,

[c] "Early in the morning of May-day in 1558, a company of men and women, about forty in number, assembled 'secretly, in a back close in a field by the town of Islington,' (Foxe, viii. 468) then a long way out of town, for the purpose of religious worship. They were engaged in prayer and the reading of the Bible. After a time, a person approached and saluted them. One of the company asked him, amongst other things, '*Whether they might be so bold as there to sit?*'—'*Yea*,' said he, '*for that ye seem unto me such persons as intend no harm.*' He then left them. A quarter of an hour afterwards, the constable of Islington, with a party of seven assistants, one armed with a bow, another with a bill, and the rest with other unnamed weapons, came suddenly upon the little flock of worshippers. The constable approached first and demanded their books, which, having learnt that he really was the constable, they delivered up to him. He then brought up his body of assistants. Some of the party fled; but, out of the forty, seven-and-twenty were arrested. The justice of the peace for Islington not being at home, the prisoners were marched off to the Old Bailey, to the house of Sir Roger Cholmley, who was or had been Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Sir Roger, having sent for the assistance of the Recorder of the City of London, committed two-and-twenty of the persons apprehended to Newgate, where they lay unnoticed for about six weeks. Two of these unfortunates died in their wretched prison. On the 14th of June seven others of them were brought before Bonner, and, after several examinations, were consigned to the stake, and were all burnt in Smithfield on the 27th of June. *They were the last of the noble band who there gave their solemn and unflinching testimony during the reign of Mary.* Thirteen out of the twenty-two still remained in Newgate. Six more of them were selected for prosecution as soon as the batch of seven had been disposed of. After examination before the Bishop's Chancellor, the proceedings against the six were adjourned until the 11th of July, when their sentence was to be pronounced. It would seem that after examination they were confined first in Bonner's coal-house, attached to his residence at St. Paul's—a miserable shed, commonly used as a place of confinement for ecclesiastical prisoners—and afterwards at his palace at Fulham." [Bonner took them there in his own barge; and, on this excursion, committed some cruelties upon several boys bathing in the Thames, near Lambeth.—

and doyng moche hurte many wayes, some order may be taken with theym, and in myn opinion, as I shewed your Grace and my Lord Chanceler, it shuld doo well to have theym brent in Hammersmythe, a myle from my house here, for then can I giff sentence agaynst theym here in the parishe churche, very quietly

G. C. G.] "Whilst in Bonner's custody—if there is any faith to be put in their testimony—he himself personally chastised them. Stephen Cotton, whose name appears in the first imperfect paragraph of this letter, distinctly states, in a letter of his published elsewhere—'*I have been twice beaten, and threatened to be beaten again, by the Bishop himself.*' (Foxe, viii. 525.) It was whilst the six were still in Bonner's palace that he wrote the letter [printed in the text], the third paragraph of which clearly relates to these six persons. He says, they are still in his house, '*pestering the same and doing much hurt many ways;*' and he suggests, in the most careless off-hand way imaginable, as if he were proposing some arrangement connected with a party of pleasure, that he should have authority to get rid of the poor wretches, consigning them to the flames at Hammersmith, [then] a little secluded village a mile from his house at Fulham. The Bishop did not exactly obtain his request:—perhaps the Lord Chancellor espied a too bare-faced illegality in his friend's request—but Bonner was allowed to go as near to his suggested course as possible. The six prisoners were duly taken to St. Paul's, on the 11th of July. Sentence of condemnation was there given against them in the presence of Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, two officers of the Queen's household. On the day following, the Lord Chancellor sent his writ to the Sheriff of Middlesex, to burn them—not at Hammersmith, but almost as near the Bishop's Palace—at Brentford—where the holocaust was accomplished on the 14th of July, 1558."

"We have here an apt illustration of the dyer's hand taking the very colour in which it works. The long course of the hideous persecution—which had now lasted for three years—had brought the actors in that terrible iniquity to think lightly of the lives which they sacrificed. Bonner writes—'scribbles in haste'—upon the subject with a listless carelessness which indicates the most supreme indifference. The consignment of half-a-dozen human beings to the most frightful torture, was a 'thing' merely to be got over with as little fuss as possible. It was not worth the trouble of 'a day in Paul's.' A man of really kindly feeling would have avoided the neighbourhood of such a scene horror-struck; Bonner endeavours to bring it as near as possible to his own home. The letter reflects light also on the characters of Pole and Gardiner. Bonner would not have dared to write to them on such a subject in a style so *nonchalant*, if he had not known that the tone was familiar to them, and not disagreeable. It shows, also, the justice of the popular judgment of Bonner's character, expressed in a line to be remembered for its truth, if it cannot be admired for its elegance:—

"'CARNIFICIS nomen debetur jure BONERO.'

"In the whole range of English historical characters, no one stands out more distinctly than Bishop Bonner. Everybody who knows anything of the period of our Reformation, and many who do not, are as intimately acquainted with his person as with his deeds. His rubicund, fat, comely, jolly-looking presence, which was the occasion of so many jokes amongst his contemporaries,—his

and without tumult, and having the shireff present, as I can have hym, he without busynes or stirre [can] put theym to execution in the saide place, when otherwise the thinge [will need a] day in Paules and with moor comberance, then now it nedeth. And [so mo]st humblie I take my leave of your Grace, beseeching the

smooth, round, florid, pleasant-looking countenance, his courtly manners, his speech ordinarily mild and placid, but conjoined to a temper which was easily ruffled, and, when that chanced to be the case, bursting forth in words not seemly in any man, and extremely the reverse in a Bishop—these are peculiarities with which we are all familiar from infancy. To his friends he probably seemed very much of a gentleman,—courteous, gentle, and pleasant-speaking in the highest degree,—probably a little over-polite; but an extremely complaisant and agreeable person. To those who judged him merely by his look and personal appearance, it must have been a mystery how it came to pass that the common people held him in such utter abhorrence, and applied to him a repulsive epithet, which to this day he continues to share with his mistress, Queen Mary. It is obvious, even in the most partial accounts of the treatment of the people who were brought before him upon grounds of religion, that he behaved to most of them at first not merely with good temper, but with a great deal of seeming kindness. He tried to smooth down their ruffled feelings, to win upon their regard, to coax them into relinquishing their peculiar opinions. Over and over again we find him appealing to them so kindly and forcibly as to draw thanks and tears from bystanders interested in their fate. Yet this same man, with all his external kindliness and pity, was capable of perpetrating the most monstrous cruelties with absolute heedlessness and *sangfroid*. An attempt was made a few years ago to shew that the popular judgment respecting him was in part erroneous. The writer was a gentleman who loves truth above everything, and has done a great deal to promote the cause of historical accuracy. He proved indisputably that many things alleged in books against Bonner were exaggerated; he dwelt at length upon the pleasant features of his character; but he was unable to remove one atom of the weight of that traditional odium which justly rests upon him as a willing minister in the perpetration of the most atrocious barbarities."

The above admirable remarks are by John Bruce, Esq., who (under the signature "B.") first published this letter in the "Athenæum," October 27, 1855. The writer to whom he alludes, as having endeavoured to gloss over the atrocious character of Bonner, is the Rev. Dr. Maitland, in his "Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England," pp. 386—576, London, 1849, 8vo.; a volume full of curious and useful matter, but exhibiting a melancholy instance of a mind prejudiced against the pious (though not perfect) men who accomplished the Reformation in this country; hunting out with an evil eye every error in the cruelly-oppressed Protestants; and anxiously searching for apologies, generally of the most absurd character, for the atrocities of their persecutors.

The affecting story of the Islington Martyrs, abridged by Mr. Bruce in his communication to the "Athenæum," may be read with profit in Foxe, Martyrs, VIII., pp. 468—486, and p. 525; Lond. edit., 8vo., 1849.

same [that I may] be advertised with spede of your pleasure. Scribled in haste [this . . . day of] July, 1558.

Your Graces moost humble bedesman and servant,

EDMOND LONDON.

CXXVI.

MARTYR TO UTENHOVEN.

ZURICH, *November* 29, [1558].

[Autograph in the Archives of the Belgic Church, Austin Friars, London.—Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV., ii., 676, 4to., Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

NOBLE man, dearest and highly respected brother in Christ: I received a letter from you a few days ago, by Sebastian, the servant of Master John à Lasco; to which I had just written an answer, when another letter from you, addressed to me and the brethren, reached us, by this John Lufenski, a servant of God, and a faithful minister of the Church of Christ. . . . . We thank God for the intelligence you send us, and we earnestly pray that He may increase, prosper, and perfect by His Holy Spirit, that work which He has begun by His own powerful hand and more than wonderful influence, in the kingdom [of Poland].

For the hearts of the sons of God are affected with incredible grief, while they perpetually behold the kingdom of Antichrist, the oppressive tyranny of Mohammed, the vast crowd of Atheists, and the almost inconceivable number of other sects, so increased —yes, and daily increasing—that they have filled almost the whole world with their delusions, their madness, and their fury: and while they see, on the other hand, that the doctrine of the TRUTH and the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God, is embraced by so few, and is driven, as it were, into narrow, obscure, and little corners of the world. Righteous, indeed, is the Lord; for our sins have deserved not only this, but far heavier evils. But as (to repeat what I have just observed) this

is an afflicting and almost intolerable sight to the pious; so, on the other hand, it is far sweeter than honey, both to see and to hear that the truth of pure and sincere Christianity is reclaiming day by day its just dominion, and in those very regions where there was scarcely a ray of hope of such a Divine restoration. Blessed be God for His gifts.

Dearest brethren in Christ, fear not;—no, not even though the State-Assembly of the kingdom should be postponed by the malice and arts of the Papists,—not even though the influence, the tricks, the favour, and the authority of a thousand Cardinals (instead of one) should oppose themselves, and resist, and rage: for there is neither wisdom nor counsel against the Lord. He who can, and does, take the wise in their own craftiness, shall laugh at them from heaven. For He of old demolished with ease the Tower of Babel; He struck the Egyptians with horrible plagues; He led the Hebrews into captivity, and brought them back; nor did any one ever oppose himself to His Almighty arm, without at length being made sensible of his perverseness by the evils which followed on such a course. There is one danger, however, which I see; and that is, lest we be slow and hard of heart in trusting our most faithful God; or, if we do trust Him in some degree, lest we should be ungrateful for the gifts divinely received. May God, of His infinite mercy and goodness, avert such plagues from His Church!

I have nothing to write on my own affairs. I live here in sufficient peace and tranquillity; and teach in my own way and method. I have published my Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans; and I have now in the press [d] A Defence against Stephen Gardiner, the Englishman, formerly Bishop of Winchester, on the Eucharistic matter. It is a volume of considerable size, and I hope will clearly embrace the whole subject.

All salute you here, especially Julius with his wife. Farewell. Live happily in Christ. Do not forget me when you pour out your prayers to God. Salute also Sabine, the Italian, should you see him. Zurich, November 29, [1558].

PETER MARTYR.

To John Utenhoven, in Poland.

[d] This work was published by Froschover in the following spring. The Dedication to Queen Elizabeth is dated, "Zurich, March 1, 1559."

CXXVII.

MARTYR TO CALVIN.

ZURICH, *December* 1, [1558].

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1121.—English Translation by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 94, col. 1.]

New Translation.

I WAS neither surprised nor vexed, most illustrious Sir, that when you sent a letter some few days back to my friend Bullinger, you wrote nothing to me; an omission for which you were so good as to send an excuse by him. But I was previously very much concerned because I heard you were suffering from a perilous disease; nor am I now any less anxious, since you intimate that it is a quartan fever under which you labour. I could tell many a fact about the contumacy and indomitable obstinacy of that malady against drugs and doctors, having myself twice battled with it. In short, those that are in such case need great and enduring patience; which I am sure you will not need to seek from without for your use, since your mind is deeply imbued with it by the Spirit of Christ. But I have, in common with many others, a twofold cause for grief concerning that your indisposition. One, that you suffer, are reduced and enfeebled; which cannot be otherwise, especially in a frame already well nigh exhausted by labours. The other reason is that your labours in action and in writing are suspended, to the great loss of all Christian people. For there is nothing which so frets that disease, as study and anxiety. This it is, which so disconcerts not only me, but all truly pious persons. But since so it is, it is our duty to be instant in wrestling in prayer that you may be as soon as possible restored to your former health. And it is your duty to abstain with all care and the utmost diligence from what is hurtful, especially from late study and the anxiety of weighty cares, by which the dark and bilious humour, whence that fever

arises, is so shaken and irritated as to insinuate itself into the very marrow. Besides it is far more desirable that you should rest for some days or months, since such is God's will, than that you should either die to the great grief of good men (which God forbid) or live, so long as your life holds out, with an entirely weakened and shattered body and mind, to the unspeakable loss of the Church. See therefore that you offend not against either yourself or the Church of Christ.

Certain messengers came here yesterday, sent by English noblemen who are at Strasburgh. They say that their Queen[e] died on the 16th of November, and that the Princess Elizabeth has succeeded to the throne with the acclamations of all ranks. For, as it happened, they were gathered at the time from all parts of England to the Assembly, or as they popularly term it, the Parliament. Now God must be besought that this change in affairs may be for the furtherance of the name of Christ, and His holy Gospel. I know that you and your holy Church will not be wanting in your duty. Perhaps it is now the time that the walls of Jerusalem should be built up again in that kingdom, that the blood of so many Martyrs may not seem so profusely shed in vain.

I have no further news to communicate to you, except that I have my [f] Book in the press, wherein I have unravelled and con-

[e] Queen Mary died November 17, 1558.

[f] The title of this admirable work is as follows:—"*Defensio Doctrinæ Veteris et Apostolicæ de Sacrosancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento, D.* PETRI MARTYRIS VERMILII, FLORENTINI, *Divinarum Literarum in Schola Tigurina Professoris, in quatuor distincta partes, adversus* STEPHANI GARDINERI, *quondam Vuintoniens. Episcopi, Librum, quem ille primum quidem sub hujusmodi titulo edidit,* Confutatio cavillationum, &c., &c., authore M. ANTON. CONSTANTIO, &c., *deinde verò, commentitio hoc nomine expuncto, proprioque suo ipsius nomine apposito et expresso, evulgavit.*" [There is neither date nor place; but the printer's (Froschover's) device—A child on a Dragon.] It contains ff. 821. The Epistle Dedicatory to Qu. Elizabeth is dated "Tiguri, Cal. Martii, 1559," in which he says:—"Last winter, when my work was finished, and I had put it into the printer's hands, unexpectedly the happy news was brought that Your Majesty was Queen. At which intelligence, your English subjects, (who, driven from home, or totally ruined in property, were living in various parts of Germany,) were so rejoiced, that they seemed to have been raised from the dead by the commencement of your Reign. . . . . In this Disputation it has been my chief object to defend nothing which either is not clearly delivered to us in the Divine Scriptures, or is not agreeable to the most ancient writings of the Fathers, or, lastly, *has not been approved by the public profession of your*

futed all the sophisms and artifices of Stephen Gardiner, formerly Bishop of Winchester, in the Eucharistic question. This, as I trust, has fallen very opportunely, for it will be advantageous at this particular juncture that the Papal interest in England should understand that that book is not unanswered, as they have hitherto boasted.

Farewell, and may you live as long as possible, for Christ and His Church. I bid all my fellow-ministers hail—Beza also, and Marchio.

Zurich, December 1 [1558].

[P. MARTYR.]

Church of England in the good times. When you shall have informed yourself, according to that excellent judgment with which the Holy Spirit has endued you, that the doctrine which we hold is pure, and sound, and agreeable to the Sacred Scriptures,—I entreat your Majesty, again and again, that you will defend it with all your influence, authority, and piety; and that you will not suffer any other public profession to utter its voice (*Tonare*) and to flourish."—In the "Preface to the Reader," he says, that Cranmer was scarcely allowed paper, or a supply of books; otherwise he would have replied to Gardiner himself. "This," he adds, "I can affirm respecting Cranmer, that he died in the true faith, and in a holy confession; and that he uttered the most unshaken testimony for Christ in the midst of the fires."—This work was received very graciously by Queen Elizabeth. Jewel writes thus to Martyr on the subject, Nov. 5, 1559:—"The Queen, of her own accord, eagerly perused both your letter and the book itself, and wonderfully commended both your learning and character in general; and your book was made so much of by all men, that I know not whether anything of the kind was ever so valued before. The Queen made diligent inquiry of the messenger, as to what you were doing, where you lived, in what state of health and what circumstances you were, and whether your age would allow you to undertake a journey. She was altogether desirous that you should by all means be invited to England; that, as you formerly *tilled*, as it were, the University by your lectures, so you might again *water* it by the same, now it is in so disordered and wretched a condition."—(See Zurich Letters, p. 68, Parker Society's second edition, 1846.)

CXXVIII.

MARTYR TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ZURICH, *December* 22, 1558.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog., edit. Lond., 1583, p. 1,121.—English Translation by Anthonie Marten, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 58.]

New Translation.

To her most serene Majesty Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Spain, grace and eternal felicity from God the Father, through Jesus Christ our Saviour.

I believe, most illustrious Queen, that it is in the opinion of pious persons beyond all doubt that the world is a kind of school or place of practice, where He trains and disciplines His own through the means of divers laborious exercises, sometimes through sufferings, and occasionally by perils of different kinds. Nor yet is this the method of our Heavenly Father, because He has decreed that those whom He loves should have conflict with perpetual afflictions and be weighed down with ceaseless trials, but He sometimes grants them to overcome their misfortunes, and to emerge from the waves and whirlpools of danger on such occasions as He has determined with Himself, that He may shew Himself to be He that brings down to the gates of death and fetches thence again, while He desires that in His adopted children His image should shine forth, whom He begat of His own nature before all eternity. Indeed, He, our elder brother, Christ Jesus, underwent death, before He was raised again from the dead by His own and His Father's power. Wherefore we, too, who are designed to be conformed to His pattern, must die before we can rise again. After the same manner the Israelites were well nigh dead, while they were oppressed in Egypt under the heavy tyranny of Pharaoh. But when delivered by Moses and Aaron they were in some sort snatched from death. After that, they seemed once more to

have perished in the multiplied dangers and various accidents of the vast wilderness, but subsequently lived again on their entrance to Canaan. Finally, being led into captivity they were thought to be utterly extinct, and yet returned after seventy years, and flourished afresh, so that they were then restored to life. And, oh most mighty Queen Elizabeth, seeing that God has dealt in like manner with thee, He has not in truth departed from His own ancient rule, but rather has confirmed it and rendered it more evident. For while His works are wrought in obscure and meaner persons, they are of course less manifest. But on the contrary, when they are evidenced in men and women of greatest weight and highest rank, they are in some sort ennobled by the observation of all. Wherefore, since thou, oh most illustrious Queen Elizabeth, art advanced to the throne by no smooth, level, ready, or pleasant road, but for several years past hast seemed scarce a step removed from death (for thy perils were so vehement and so deep that the bark of thy life was well-nigh overwhelmed), it is by Divine providence, not human aid, that thou hast been preserved, and as we have lately seen, promoted to the possession of that most noble empire. So by the clemency and goodness of the Son of God, in whom alone thou didst trust, thou hast revived, and dost by God's good help hold thy sire's and grandsire's throne, and all for the safety of Christ's Church and the re-establishment of the tottering English commonwealth. Wherefore all good men have that naturally in their mouth, which is joyously sung in the Psalms (cxviii. 23), "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner." I well know that this alludes to Christ; but since pious persons are accounted members of Him, I consider it may be quoted of them also. For Paul the Apostle of Christ frequently testifies that in the adorning and dignity of the head the other members of the body enjoy honour; which is clearly to be held true especially of those who are so conspicuous in the Lord's Body, as God has been pleased your Majesty should at length be in His own people. Further, this goodness of God is so great that it is by no means confined to thyself, but through thee is derived unto a large number of the faithful. For so many as are either born citizens of that kingdom, or wish it well, and all who seek nothing else

but the glory of Christ, seem to themselves to be raised from the dead, together with thyself. Among these I neither am nor would be the last; and therefore as I perceived myself to be affected with great and incredible joy at this most desirable news, so I conceived that thanks should first be paid to the Supreme God, and then that it was fit to congratulate your Majesty and also the English Church and Realm.

Wherefore God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is worthy of all praise, for that He hath visited His people who were well-nigh dead, and hath by preaching the Gospel of the Son of God opened the way which had been too long closed. Lo! once more is a horn of Salvation raised up in the kingdom of England, whereby the elect of God may, through the unconquered might of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be delivered from the hand of their enemies and serve the holy God in all holiness, according to the ordinance of holy Writ. Glory in the highest, peace in the Church, and good-will from God towards the people of England, so that under the guidance and auspices of this pious Queen, her citizens adorned with justice and holiness may walk before Him in continual innocence; and He shed so divine a light on them that they, who during the night which preceded had well-nigh fallen into darkness and the shadow of death, may now that the day has risen walk without any hindrance in the paths of peace. The accomplishment whereof, most mighty Queen, will, next to God, be lodged in thy hand. Nor do we doubt that in accordance with their ancient faith, piety, and God's grace which has protected, shielded, and governed thee from thy first years to this very day, thou wilt render the honour due to God and to His Word. God ward off from thy candid and religious mind the taint of an ungrateful will, which although it be in any one most base, would in thee be altogether unbearable, seeing thou dost occupy that thy place through Christ's mercy. But I feel confident that your Majesty has a ready mind and will for re-establishing Evangelical Religion. And although thou art for this end sufficiently instructed and taught of thyself, and hast sacred counsels and pious advice enough from others, to bespeak thy careful audience; yet I thought right, on account of my highest reverence for your Majesty, to suggest with no less brevity than modesty a few matters which especially bear hereupon. I only

entreat that they may not be otherwise taken by thee, than they are written by myself. For what I speak in good purpose, I could wish to be taken in good part. I know how sensitive are the ears of this world's royalty; but since thou art of Christ and not of this world, I feel very bold with respect to thine.

And now, passing by the opinions of heathen philosophers, let me lead thee awhile to the singular and famous example of David. For while he lived he was distinguished for the might of his kingdom, and renowned for his remarkable sanctity. Wherefore if I would have thee turn out like him, I derogate nothing from thy majesty or thy piety. When he was destined to ascend the throne in Israel, he endured, like thee, the most grievous sufferings before he attained it; but when he had reached it, he esteemed nothing more important than that he should restore the religion which had fallen into disregard, and whereof the head and sum was at that time reposed in him, by bringing back to its ancient honour the ark of the Covenant, the chief emblem of Deity, which through the negligence of King Saul lay disregarded in a private house of one Aminadab at Kirjath Jearim. This the holy king could not endure, and so he ordered it to be brought to the Royal City; but in his pious efforts to this end the priests did not rightly discharge their own office. Wherefore the pious king had nearly been frustrated of his hopes. But not long after, recovering himself, he brought them to the due performance of their office, and himself reinstated the ark of Almighty God, with happiest success, in Zion, to his own unspeakable joy and the singular delight of the people. This same work, O illustrious Queen Elizabeth, is entrusted by God, together with the kingdom, to thy fidelity. In sooth, it is thine to restore to its proper place the sacred Gospel of Christ, which has through grievous times and troublesome adversaries lain in past years neglected, not to say trampled upon. If thou shalt accomplish this, everything will succeed with thee, no less than with holy King David. For, if it is declared to every Christian man that he should first seek the kingdom of God, and then that other things may be readily added unto him, shall we not think the same to be enjoined to kings? Assuredly, if it is enjoined on all to honour God with the utmost sincerity, kings are not exempt from that precept; nay, in proportion as they enjoy higher dignity among

men are they the more bound by that law of God. But your Majesty needs no prolix monitor, since the Heavenly Father hath breathed on thee, as on David, His excellent Spirit.

But there is this danger imminent,—lest those who are at this day called priests should err in the work of restoring the Church, as came about with great confusion when the Lord smote Uzzah. For the ark of the Lord was not to be borne on a waggon, but to be carried on the shoulders of the priests, as the Divine law had ordained. So, now, it must again and again be seen to, that no such misadventures occur; as that the governors of the Church, in some erroneous apprehension or the desire of avoiding labour and proper discipline, endeavour to bear the ark of the Gospel, not by the Word of God and the examples of purer life, but on the waggons of useless ceremony and the mean work of hirelings. If thou shalt perceive this to be the case, illustrious Queen, thou shalt not, like David, be moved above measure, nor abandon the work that is begun, as he, for the time, desisted; but do from the first, as we read that he shortly after did, when he corrected the error of the priests, re-arranged the Levites into definite ranks, and commanded everything to be done in strict regard of the law. This is what all pious people expect from thee, O holy Queen. Thus far the kings of the earth, most sad to say, are gathered together, and resist God and His Christ; from whose alliance your Majesty being alien, may fitly hear what is said both to thee and to other princes:—"Understand now, ye kings; be wise, ye that are judges of the earth; serve the Lord with fear."

But thou mayest ask, Of what kind is that religious worship to be which is required towards God? No other, in sooth, but to correct and chasten with due severity whatever is done against the law of God, especially in His worship. For a king must serve God in a twofold capacity:—first, as he is a human being, by faithful creed and conduct; next, as he is king over his people, by enacting with due vigour laws which ordain just and pious observances, and forbid the contrary. This did Hezekiah, when he destroyed (2 Kings xviii. 4) the groves and temples of the idols and those high places which had been erected against the command of God; notwithstanding that on some occasions there had been pious sacrifices there. The same did holy Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 4), with utmost diligence and incredible piety.

The King of Nineveh did not decline this (Jonah iii. 7), but obliged his whole State to appease the wrath of God. This did Darius for the true God, as is written in Daniel (vi. 26). This Nebuchadnezzar accomplished (Daniel iii. 29), when he restrained the dwellers in his kingdom by a most stringent law from speaking against the living God. I could easily show that many kings and most mighty emperors have acted in like manner since Christ. Constantine, for example, Theodosius, Charlemagne, and many others; but, not to leave the memory of our own times or thy most illustrious house, the most illustrious King of England, thy brother Edward, sought to do this with all his strength, and, indeed, beyond what his years admitted; the longer extension of whose reign our sins and intolerable ingratitude did not allow of. God willed merely to show to the world the excellent virtues and exemplary piety of that young man; and then, in order to chastise us in some sort, as our ill deserts merited, He recalled him hastily from earth unto Himself. But all is well, since He hath, after some fatherly correction, taken pity on us,—since He has at this time substituted thee, his dearest sister, who wilt be able to perform far more than he could, and to answer more exactly to the opinion conceived concerning thee, because thou art elder, and therefore wilt administer thy kingdom not at another's discretion, but thine own.

Thou hast, then, most illustrious Queen, the most eminent examples of both ancient and later princes, and lastly of thy dearest brother, whose steps, if thou art willing (as surely thou must be) to follow religiously, thou wilt attain many great advantages. First, thou wilt do what is most pleasing to the great and good God in joining thyself unto His Word; thou wilt restore the Church of Christ, all but entirely subverted; satisfy thy people as far as the pious are concerned; and exhibit to foreign princes by thine own illustrious example, a sound and pious pattern of empire.

And never, I entreat, give assent to those who pretend that Princes have nothing to do with the care of reforming religion. For not so held the pious kings whom I before mentioned; not so does holy Writ instruct us; not so did the very heathen and philosophers suppose. Is it for a pious magistrate to uphold one only and that the latter table of the Divine Law? Shall a King take upon him the care of all other professions, to see

that they be handled honestly and uprightly, and reject the thought of religion alone? God forbid! If Bishops and Ministers of Churches shall not fulfil their duty, if in the handing down of dogmas and administration of Sacraments they shall fall from the pure rules of the Divine Scriptures, who but a pious Prince shall recall them into the way? Your Majesty does not expect that under present circumstances, they should of themselves be aroused to this course; unless a Royal spur be applied to them, they will never repair the ruins of God's temple. Jehoash, King of the Jews (2 Kings xii. 8), when he perceived that the priests did it not, took upon himself the charge of effecting the Restoration of the Temple.

Come, then, thou holy Deborah of our age, take some Barak to thine aid, vindicate the pure and spotless liberty of the Israelites that are in various ways oppressed. Fear not. God is not wont to desert such attempts with His favour; thou wilt have Him with thee, so that like that bravest woman Jael, thou mayest smite the head of Jabin with the mallet of thy power, and crush it into the earth from whence it took its rise, so that it may cease to trouble thy pious people. We greatly trust that thou wilt be that Esther who shall bring to the gallows the Haman that is thirsting for slaughter and the blood of the people of God. Let these women add courage to your Majesty; and do not suffer thyself to give way because thou art born a woman and not a man. Where does God's power shew itself more than in infirmity? Moreover, He hath not called the mighty things of the world to propagate the kingdom of Christ, but hath subjugated human wisdom and the lofty imaginations of the flesh to the Gospel through the weak and lowly. And in that war which Xerxes carried on against the Greeks (if we must have regard to Gentile affairs) Persian men were slain, and committed themselves to an inglorious flight, while the most noble Queen Artemisia supported a very valorous combat with manly spirit. On hearing of which, Xerxes said that "men had in that battle been women, and women had proved themselves the bravest men." Zenobia,[a]

[a] [*Imperium quoque Romanum Zenobia fortius multo quàm Gallienus defendit.* Either a verb has dropped out after Zenobia, or the word *defendo* is here made to bear its twofold sense, (1) I ward off; (2) I defend. Zenobia was tolerated as Queen of Palmyra by Gallienus and Claudius, but deposed and brought as a prisoner to Rome by Aurelian.]

too, repelled the Roman Empire with far more valour than Gallienus defended it. Albeit in your Majesty nothing, thank God, can be [b] stigmatized as feminine or feeble, except your sex. But lest I should seem to aim at gratifying thine ears, I have resolved to pass by thine incomparable learning, knowledge of languages, clemency, modesty, prudence, and especial piety, wherewith being by God's favour adorned, thou not only art called, but art in very fact, most illustrious. Wherefore gird thyself with courage to the sacred work which all good men look for from thee; with no fear of the fraud of the Devil, the hindrances of wicked men, or the weakness of thy sex. God will disperse all these things with a single breath of His mouth. Meanwhile, it shall be my part, and the part of those like minded, to pray God with constant and fervent prayers, that He would first grant your Majesty that thou mayest perceive all that is most excellent by thine own genius and understanding; next, that wise and useful counsels may be suggested by others; further, that thou mayest adopt what shall be rightly indicated; and, finally, that a happy and successful issue may be accorded to thy undertakings. I, for my part, most illustrious Queen, do daily make these petitions for thee, and I undertake that so long as life shall last I will never abandon them. And may the Heavenly Father, who holds the hearts of kings in His own hands, by whom kings reign, and who transfers their empire to whomsoever He will at His own discretion, direct your Majesty, with the Church and people of England, by His Spirit, and preserve them by His grace in enduring safety.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient client,

PETER MARTYR.

Zurich, December 22, 1558.

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[b] [*Novari.* We should doubtless read *notari.*]

CXXIX.

SHORT EXTRACTS FROM VARIOUS WORKS OF PETER MARTYR,* ON THE CHARACTER AND EFFECT OF THE SACRAMENTS;

FROM 1549 TO 1559.

1. THE Signs do take their Sacramental signification. . . . . These are not made common signs, but such as do mightily and effectually stir up the mind. . . . . What else is the Eucharist than the Gospel, or Visible Word? . . . . Sacraments be the Sensible Words of God. . . . . Effectual Signs: that is, by the which the Spirit of the Lord worketh mightily, and not meanly

* To estimate the value of the opinions of Peter Martyr, as illustrating the history of the English Reformation, it is necessary to call to mind his intimate acquaintance with Cranmer, under whose influence he came into England in December, 1547, and was appointed King Edward's Professor of Divinity at Oxford, in 1549. In that year he read lectures on the FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS, and afterwards on the EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. His lectures on the Epistle to the Corinthians led him to propound his doctrine on the Lord's Supper (and indeed on both the Sacraments) with a decision becoming his responsible office, as the first teacher of Theology upon the principles of the Reformation in that University. The Romish party was so infuriated, that it was judged proper to appoint a public disputation under a Royal Commission. In that disputation the Regius Professor triumphantly proved his doctrine to the satisfaction of the Commissioners, though of course not to the conviction of his enraged Popish opponents. The views which Martyr entertained on the Sacraments generally, and Baptism especially, are clearly set forth in the extracts from his Commentaries on those Epistles here printed, which have the greater weight from the remarkable circumstances connected with their delivery. Maintaining these views, he approved our Baptismal Service, on which his opinion was asked by Cranmer in 1550. In 1553, the persecuted Archbishop declared (—"in that bold and brave challenge," as Strype calls it, which "he made at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign,"—) that, with the help of Martyr, he was prepared to defend the Book of Common Prayer, and his *doctrine of the Sacraments.* Cranmer's doctrine, therefore, on the Sacraments, (as expressed in our Articles and Offices,) *could not* be at variance with Martyr's in any essential particular.—It is well and candidly observed by the Oxford Editor of Cranmer's Works,—"If any individuals are to be named, to whose authority the Archbishop may be supposed to have paid particular deference, none can prefer stronger claims to that honour than Ridley and *Peter Martyr.* By the former his mind was first awakened to the truth; and with the latter he

in us; so that [provided] we be endued with faith and godliness. For we speak not here of an efficacy which may bind our salvation to the things of this world. Neither let any man here cry out, that, "Seeing this receiving is had by faith, what shall the communicants gain? because, if they be faithful they have Christ already joined unto them."—It may be easily answered, Indeed He is joined unto them; but He is every day more nearly joined unto us, and, while we communicate, He is more and more united unto us. . . . . Thou wilt say the very selfsame of Baptism. For, when as a man believeth, he is straightway justified, and hath remission of sins; and yet he is not in vain baptized. But, if so, thou wilt demand, "Whether this efficacy of the Eucharist is to all men alike?" I answer, No; but according to the state and measure of the faith of the communicants.—Treatise on the Eucharist,[b] delivered in the School at Oxford, in 1549 [dedicated to Archbishop Cranmer]: translated in the Common Places, iv. 10, p. 196, cols. 1, 2.

2. I would not admit, that the Sacraments . . . . of themselves do give grace. For, whatsoever grace we have, that we obtain by faith, and not for the work's sake that is wrought.

held such frequent conferences on the subject, that a doubt has arisen whether Cranmer was enlightened by Martyr, or Martyr by Cranmer. Both suppositions, perhaps, are equally erroneous; but they are evidence, nevertheless, of the unreserved intercourse between the two Reformers. And, beyond all question, the Archbishop not only attached great weight to Peter Martyr's judgment, but made use of his compositions with extraordinary freedom; for passages may be pointed out in his friend's publications of the former year [1549], which he did not scruple to translate almost literally, and adopt as his own." (Jenkyns' Cranmer, I., Pref., pp. lxxxv., lxxxvi.) The extracts, given in the text above, from Martyr's DEFENCE OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST, shew that the opinions he held on the Sacraments when in England were still maintained by him when he retired to the Continent: they shew, moreover, that those opinions were not opposed to the views of our English Reformers at the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, for, at the close of 1559, he was invited by the Queen to return to England, in consequence of the satisfaction she had experienced in the perusal of this very book which he had dedicated and presented to her. (Zurich Letters, p. 68, 2d edit., 1846.) The invitation was repeated, but declined, in 1561. (Zurich Letters, p. 121.)

[b] The "Tractatio et Disputatio de Eucharistia" was first published in 1549, 4to., Londini.—"As it was introduced by a long Dedication to Cranmer, it is obvious to conclude that he did not disapprove of its contents." (Jenkyns' Cranmer, Pref., p. lxxxi., Oxford, 1833.)

Neither do we for this cause make Sacraments to be the more contemptible: forasmuch as we determine that they, while they be rightly received, do help, confirm, and increase faith, whereby alone we be justified. For the Holy Ghost, as He useth the words of God, and the Scriptures, as it were instruments to change and to save us; so likewise doth He use the Sacraments.—Dr. Peter Martyr's Disputation at Oxford, 1st June, 1549 (the 4th day), with Dr. Chadsey. See his Common Places, translated by Anthonie Marten, Second Collection, p. 247, folio, Lond., 1583.

3. This, if we do well, must be observed while the Sacraments be given; that the thing, which is sealed with the outward figure, be had, and be there present. Those that be of ripe age declare that they hold the promise by faith, when they confess the truth of Christian doctrine; and then is applied the sealing, and they are baptized. And, in the young children of the Christians, when they are declared by the words of God to have the promise of the covenant, and to be in the Church, this communion and promise no doubt is sealed by Baptism. Sometimes, indeed, by an overthwart order, it happeneth that the thing followeth the applying of the Sacrament; and then the promise, or the gift of the promise, which in very deed is not there, is not sealed; as appeareth in them which be unbelievers, and come to Baptism with a feigned mind. Those men assuredly belong not unto the Church; neither have they the justification or communion of Christ; only they carry a sign about with them. Howbeit, it may be, that, if they be converted unto Christ, they may afterwards obtain these things, neither must Baptism be therefore renewed. But this way of receiving the Sacraments is not allowed. And, as touching the riper age, there is no doubt when they faithfully receive Baptism, but that they have first [previously] entered into the covenant of God. For, so soon as ever a man believeth in Christ, he both hath salvation, and is also justified. And albeit some have doubted as touching the children of the faithful, yet must we judge the selfsame [of them].—Comment.[c] on 1 Cor. vii. 14; as cited in the Common Places, translated by Anthonie Marten, iv. 8, pp. 118, col. 2, 119, col. 1.

[c] Martyr's Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians was published early in 1552.

4. All they which be of ripe age do first by faith take possession of Christ before they be marked with his badge, unless that they come in hypocrisy unto Baptism. They were wont to object, that there is one consideration to be had of infants, and another of them that be of ripe age. . . . . Seeing the Holy Scripture telleth me not that young children do believe, ... I judge it sufficient to affirm that they which shall be saved, for so much as by election and predestination they belong unto the treasure of God, are endued with the Spirit of God, which is the root of faith, hope, charity, and of all virtues which He afterward sheweth forth and declareth in the children of God, when through age it may be done. . . . . But the cause why our adversaries are so loth to allow of this opinion, is for that they attribute unto the Sacraments more than they ought to do. For they think that, by the power and work of Baptism, sin is forgiven. Neither do they acknowledge that by the Sacraments forgiveness is rather sealed, which they of perfect age obtain by believing, and the young children of the faithful, which belong unto election, have it already by the Holy Ghost and by grace. . . . . Touching them which be of ripe age, we require a faith expressed and in act; but of the young children of Christians which are offered to be baptized, we say, that the same is begun, I mean in their beginning and root, because they have the Holy Ghost, from whence as well faith as all other virtues do flow. . . . . Wherefore, young children, which verily belong unto the election of God, before they can be baptized are instructed by the Spirit of the Lord.—Comment. on 1 Cor. vii. 14; as cited in the Common Places, iv. 8, pp. 119, col. 120, coll. 1, 2.

5. The head and sum of their [the Sacraments'] signification we say consisteth herein, that they seal unto us the gifts and promises of God, which He offereth unto us to be taken hold of by faith.—Comment. on the Epistle to the Romans,[d] iv. 11, f. 78, a, edit. fol. Londini, 1568.

[d] The "Commentary on the Romans," (on which Epistle Martyr had lectured at Oxford in 1550,) was first published at Zurich in 1558: the work was dedicated to Sir Anthony Cooke Knight. An English Translation by H. B. was published in London by John Daye in 1568.

6. If thou demand, forasmuch as we have remission of sins, and have by faith obtained righteousness, what commodity then bring the Sacraments unto us?—we answer, very much: for that they offer themselves before our eyes, and so do admonish us. For our faith is stirred up, not indeed by them, but by the power of the Holy Ghost, who useth this instrument of the Sacraments, even as He doth the instrument of the Word which is preached. And faith, being stirred up more and more, embraceth righteousness and the remission of sins. For these things are not *in atomo*, or in an indivisible point, but they have in them some breadth. For, if sin were in this life perfectly removed from us, we should never sin any more. But many evils sometimes offer themselves unto us, which have need of forgiveness and remission. So, although we be regenerated and renewed, yet there never wanteth in us somewhat, which must be regenerated and renewed. . . . . Wherefore, in the Resurrection, we shall have a perfect and absolute Regeneration. And therefore Christ calleth the Resurrection by that name, when He said unto His Apostles [Matt. xix. 28] that "they should sit in the Regeneration upon twelve seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel." For that selfsame cause Paul, when he was already justified, was commanded to be baptized: and Abraham, after that righteousness was imputed unto him, was commanded to be circumcised.—Comment. on Rom. iv. 11, f. 78, a.

7. There are two things which are contrary and repugnant to the nature of the Sacraments. The first is, if we attribute too much unto them: For by that means is easily brought in idolatry, whereas that which belongeth unto God only is attributed to a creature. And if at any time the Sacraments are said either to save or to remit sins, or any such like thing, the same ought to be understood of the thing signified, and not of the signs. . . . . The other thing which we said is repugnant unto the nature of the Sacraments, is when we count them to be nothing but bare and naked signs, For . . . . neither are they only signs of our actions, but also of the promise and of the will of God, and are sealings thereof. And the Holy Ghost doth no less use these signs to stir up our hearts, than He useth the Words of God which are in the Holy Scriptures.—Comment. on Rom. iv. 11, f. 80.—The Common Places, iv. 7, p. 100, col. 1.

8. As for that kind of speech which these men [the Schoolmen] so often use, namely, that "Sacraments remit sins, or confer grace," we do not easily admit; unless peradventure in that sense wherein Paul affirmeth, that "the Gospel is the power of God to salvation" [Rom. i. 16]; and as unto Timothy the reading of the Holy Scriptures is said "to make safe" [1 Tim. iv. 16]: which undoubtedly is nothing else, but that the might and power of God,—whereby He remitteth sins, giveth grace, and at the end saveth,—useth these instruments and means to our salvation. And even as to bring us to salvation, He useth the Word of the Gospel and the truth of the Holy Scriptures, so also adjoineth He thereunto the Sacraments. For by either of them is preached unto us the liberal promise of God, which if we take hold of by faith, we shall obtain both salvation and also remission of sins. This is the true sense. . . . . This ought to be certain and most assured,—That no more is to be attributed unto the Sacraments as touching salvation than unto the Word of God.—Comment. on Rom. iv. 11, f. 84, a, b.—The Common Places, iv. 7, p. 107, coll. 1, 2.

9. We must never come to this point, to think that grace and our salvation is contained in the Sacraments, as in certain sacks or bags, which may be poured out upon the communicants or receivers. For the Sacraments are as certain Tiding-Bringers of our salvation; whom he that believeth shall obtain salvation.—Comment. on Rom. iv. 11, f. 84, b.—The Common Places, iv. 7, p. 107, col. 2.

10. Some demand, that seeing we are ignorant whether infants have the Thing of the Sacrament or no, why we give them the Sign, and seal that which is uncertain unto us? Unto whom we answer, that this question is not moved against us, but against the Word of God. For He expressedly commanded and willed that children should be circumcised. Farther, let them answer us, why they admit them that be of full age unto Baptism, and unto the Communion, when as they are not sure how their heart is affected. For, they which are baptized or do communicate, may dissemble, and deceive the Church. They answer; "that it is enough that they make their profession:" "if they lie, what is that to us?" they say:—"let them look to

that." So say we of infants, that it sufficeth us that they are offered unto the Church, either of the parents, or of them in whose power they are. And if, with the action of the Sacrament, be joined election and predestination, that which we do is ratified: but if not, then it is void. For our salvation dependeth of the election and mercy of God. But as touching election, forasmuch as it is hidden from us, we judge nothing. We follow only those signs and tokens of it which we may attain unto; as are these, that the children being infants, are offered unto the Church to be baptized, and that when they come to age, they by words confess that they believe in Christ: which tokens, although they be not so certain that they cannot fail, yet unto us they are sufficient for the ministration of the Sacraments.—Comment. on Rom. iv. 11, f. 85, b.

11. And yet ought we not to think that it [remission of sins] is given by reason of the work wrought, (as they used to speak,) as though a holiness, or the Spirit, lay hidden in the water, and that we are regenerated by the outward touch thereof. For it is not so. But by the Word of God and outward sign is signified unto us our reconciliation with God made by Christ: which reconciliation if we take hold on by faith, we are both justified and also sanctified. . . . . But in infants which by reason of age cannot yet believe, the Holy Ghost worketh in their hearts instead of faith. . . . . Neither are these two things in such manner offered in Baptism unto us, as though we by no means had them before Baptism. For it cannot be denied that they which are of full age, if they believe, have justification even before they be baptized. . . . . Neither would we baptize infants, but that we suppose they already pertain unto the Church and unto Christ. . . . . In very deed we are grafted, both into Christ and into the Church, as touching the mind and spirit, so soon as ever we are justified: but by cause that is unknown unto men, it is afterwards known when we are initiated by the outward Sacrament. Also the right unto eternal life is sealed unto us by Baptism. It is indeed given us so soon as ever we are justified, and it pertaineth unto us by right, not of merit, but of the liberal gift of God: and by Baptism it is sealed. —Comment. on Rom. vi. 5, f. 146, a, b.—Common Places, iv. 8, pp. 113, col. 2, 114, col. 1.

12. Briefly this must be held, that the outward signs join us not unto Christ, but that they be given when we be already joined to Him. Even as the watchword of soldiers doth not levy a soldier, but hath been accustomed to be given when he is already levied. And there is none that marketh his sheep, horse, and ox, unless he first possess those beasts. Yea, and the letters of donation are first finished and written, before the seals of the givers be set unto them. And assuredly thus God dealt with Abraham; "first he believed, and it was imputed to him for righteousness;" then, he received Circumcision as a seal of the righteousness of faith. . . . . Which is also done in Baptism: the thing itself, that is the covenant made with mankind by Christ, goeth before; afterward followeth the outward token. And that it is not otherwise with us than with Abraham, Paul declareth, (Rom. iv. 3,) when he sayeth, that "he was set forth unto us, as an example of justification." Which if it were not, all the arguments of Paul concerning that matter should be weak; yea, rather, they would be utterly overthrown.—Comment. on 1 Kings viii., near the end; as extracted in the Common Places, iv. 9, p. 135, coll. 1, 2.

13. Whereas we read, unto the Galatians, (Gal. iii. 27,) "So many of you as are baptized have put on Christ," I judge it must be so expounded—as if thou understand, "To put on Christ," for to be made the member of Him, that goeth before Baptism: but if you mean it by manners and life to express the child of God, that followeth after Baptism received. . . . . And if that one will object, that in the same Epistle, the xiith chapter [verse 13], it is written, that "We be baptized into one body;" that must not be so expounded, as though we first pass by outward Baptism into the body of Christ, seeing we were of the body of Christ before: then, to the intent that this may be testified and sealed, we are outwardly baptized: and therefore before those words it is written, "By the Spirit we are baptized into one body." So that it is first wrought by the work of the Holy Ghost that we become the members of Christ; then Baptism is added. . . . . Therefore, look, what faith bringeth to pass in men of ripe age before they be baptized, that doth the Spirit of Christ and the promise work in young children. . . . . The matter thus standeth, that Justification dependeth not of Bap-

tism, but goeth before it.—Comment. on 1 Kings viii.; as cited in the Common Places, iv. 9, pp. 135, col. 2, 136, col. 1, 137, col. 1.

14. We do not attribute to either Sacrament, the power of saving. It is first necessary that faith should go before,[e] by which we embrace the things signified by the external matters, from which things our justification flows. But that justification, as Paul speaks to the Romans, is sealed by the external Sacrament. However, a sealing of that kind ought by no means to be thought useless or superfluous: for the Holy Spirit makes use of it to increase and excite our faith. When we say and teach these things, can we appear to be lessening or abolishing the Institutes and Sacraments of Christ?—Defence[f] of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, p. 213, edit. Zurich, 1559. (Translation.)

15. The only matter in controversy is,—ought Sacraments to be viewed as certain hiding places and safes[g] in which the Things Signified lie concealed. Our opinion may be easily confirmed by a clear induction. The Sacrament of Baptism signifies,—the death and burial of Christ, events which have long since passed away,—and the forgiveness of sins, which is placed in the will of God who pardons our sins,—and the grace of Regeneration, which the baptized have, both in soul and body. But that is neither joined with the waters, nor co-operates with them, so that it passes over to the baptized with them.—Pp. 220, 221.

16. We acknowledge that the use of Sacraments hath some weight[h] in promoting our salvation;—not "the chief." The Death of Christ, the Holy Spirit, our Calling, Faith, Justification, have much greater weight in promoting salvation, than

[e] "Antecedat."

[f] The "Defensio doctrinæ Eucharistiæ" was published at Zurich in 1559, and was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. Dr. Jenkyns justly remarks that it exhibits "a copiousness and power worthy of his extensive reading and scrutinizing judgment." Jenkyns' Cranmer, Vol I., Pref. p. xcviii., note (l).

[g] "Latibula et loculi."

[h] "Momentum aliquod habere ad salutem."

Sacraments have. But our INCONSTANT[1] is such a subtle Theologian, that he will have both the prow and the stern of our Salvation to be constituted in external things.—P. 229.

17. Sacraments have the power of Life, in the same sense in which Peter calls the Sacred Scriptures, the Words of Eternal Life, and in which Paul calls the Gospel, the power of God unto salvation.—P. 552.

18. In Baptism, we are not washed from our sins because we are sprinkled with water; but, as Augustin well taught, because we believe the Word which is propounded: and those who truly and from the heart believe the Word of God although possibly they may have been destitute of the water, nevertheless have justification from the Words of God quite as fully as though they had been sprinkled with the Symbol. . . . . But these, our Elementarian Christians, think that nothing whatever has been done unless they have had access to the external Ceremony. . . We do not, however, on our part, teach that the external use of the Sacraments is to be despised.—P. 651.

19. Indeed, we hold that the signification of the Sacraments is powerful and efficacious, not from the force of their nature, but from the institution of the Lord, and from the circumstance that the Holy Spirit uses them as instruments for exciting faith, that the heavenly gifts of God, which are there exhibited, may follow upon faith.—P. 682.

20. I admonish the reader, that the true cause, either of our salvation, or of the casting out of Satan, is not to be attributed either to the Sacraments or to the external Word of God;—except so far as they are instruments by which faith is excited in us through the Holy Spirit, by which [faith] we are enabled to apprehend both Christ Himself, and all His gifts and promises. P. 723.

21. We may say, that Sacraments signify, and as it were by the most certain testimony confirm, the grace of God and the

[1] A play on the assumed name of Gardiner.—"Marcus Constantius."

pardon of sins, already conferred on us. [He here cites Abraham's justification *previously* to his receiving the Seal of Circumcision: Rom. iv. 9—12.] The Church would never sprinkle any one with water, or allow him to partake of the Eucharist, unless she believed him already and previously ["*jam antea*"] to belong to Christ. . . . . God regenerates no one in whom He has not first ["*prius*"] ingrafted faith in Him. But Baptism is the Sign of that Regeneration, whatever INCONSTANT may choose to say on the matter; though that Sign is not, on that account, either useless or empty ["*cassum*"]. For our Regeneration, and also grace, is daily increased, and rendered more confirmed, by faith. In order, therefore, that Sacraments may be used worthily and rightly, it is necessary that they should find in us the Things which they signify. Their use, however, does not avail at all the less for the increase and confirmation of those gifts which existed in us before ["*quæ antea in nobis extiterunt*"]. I must be understood, however, thus far to have said these things as respects Adults. Another consideration must be had as respects Infants, who, by reason of age, cannot yet actually believe; but I say nothing on this subject here, since it does not belong to my present design.—Pp. 738, 739.

CXXX.

ZANCHY TO JOHN À LASCO.

[STRASBURGH, early in *January*, 1559.]

[Latin: Hieronymi Zanchii Epistolæ, Lib. ii. 234, edit. 8vo. Hanoviæ, 1609.]

† *Translation now first published.*

I WROTE to you some time ago, accomplished man, by Sebastian, about such things as appeared to me worth communicating. Since that time, nothing new has occurred here, which is worth transmitting to you.

But the change which, through the goodness of God, has taken place in England, must appear to you, I think, as it does

to me, very remarkable. Almost all the English who have been exiles here, for five years more or less, on account of religion, have returned to their Country. I do not doubt that the Lord will make use of the services of many of them[k] for the restoration of His Kingdom. For they were the remnants of the holy seed, snatched from the fires which blazed throughout England, and preserved from the hands of Jezebel, to this moment, and for this very end; namely,—that the Kingdom of Christ should be restored in the kingdom of England: just as the Temple was rebuilt, and the old religion of the Country was renewed by the remnants of Israel, recalled into their land from Babylon. The Lord must, therefore, be entreated by ardent prayer, that the Kingdom and Gospel of Christ may strike its roots deeper and more firmly than before, every vestige of the kingdom of the Pope in that Country being plucked up and cast into the sea.

On the 15th of this Month,[l] the pious (*sancta*) Queen [Elizabeth] will be crowned. The Parliament, as it is called, will meet immediately after. It is rumoured, that the French have offered permanent peace even to the English; on this condition,—that they should never seek to regain Calais, but renounce all title to it; otherwise, that they will declare war: and that this is the reason why the Queen's coronation, and the meeting of the Parliament of the whole kingdom, are hastened. You see how we ought to pray to God for that kingdom. I take for granted that you have already written to the Queen; and have advised her what, in your judgment, should be done, for the safety of her kingdom and for the restoration of the Kingdom of Christ; still I cannot refrain from imploring you to do this very often and by repeated (*multiplicatis*) letters; for I well know how great is your influence, both with the English generally, and with the Queen in particular. Now, undoubtedly, is the time, for you, and the like of you, to assist such a pious Queen by your counsel; to consider what may conduce to the welfare of so great a kingdom; aye, and to come to the aid of the whole Christian Church, afflicted and vexed throughout the world.

[k] This was, indeed, the case. Cox, Grindall, Jewell, and other exiles, were appointed to distinguished offices in the Church of England, and did eminent service in the re-establishment of the Reformation.

[l] The Coronation took place, actually, on the 14th of January. This allusion fixes the date of Zanchy's letter within a fortnight.

We feel persuaded, that the happy introduction of the Kingdom of Christ into the kingdom of England, would be no small help to all other Churches dispersed through Germany, Poland, and other regions. Hence we see what is the thing which demands our earnest and diligent efforts.

We are tolerably quiet here. The School flourishes: your youths are well.

Calvin is sick of a quartan-fever; may God preserve him, for certainly the Church would sustain a great loss by his death. I commend him to the prayers of the Churches in your parts (*istarum Ecclesiarum*).

Beza has quitted Lausanne, and holds a Professorship at Geneva.

We have some hope that shortly the Gospel will be publicly preached at Metz: the faithful German Princes are bending their efforts to this end; may God prosper their wishes and zeal!

In two fortified places (*castellis*) in Calabria,[m] of which one is

[m] Lower Calabria.—Montalto, of which Zanchy makes mention here, is about 190 miles south-east of Naples, near the road to Reggio, and about six miles from the town Cosenza, an Archbishop's See. The following interesting account of these Protestants is given by Mr. Blewitt, in Murray's Handbook for Southern Italy, pp. 455, 456, London, 1853:—"The villages of Montalto and S. Sisto have peculiar interest for the Protestant traveller, as having been two of the principal Calabrian colonies of the Waldenses, who settled in the province towards the close of the 14th century, and maintained their faith undisturbed for nearly two centuries. At the period of the Reformation these small colonies were joined by missionaries from the valleys of Pragela and Geneva, under whose teaching the reformed doctrines began to spread in several towns and villages around Cosenza. La Guardia, on the coast, was another stronghold of the Protestant worship. The Court of Rome, fearing the consequences of this movement, dispatched two monks into Calabria, in order to suppress the Waldensian Churches. They arrived at S. Sisto, and, with much apparent gentleness, warned the inhabitants against the consequences of persisting in their heresy, desiring them to discontinue their attendance on their new teachers, and promising the protection of the Holy See if they returned to the mass, which would be celebrated on a certain day. At the time appointed, the whole population, instead of complying with the injunction, quitted the town, and retired into the wooded fastnesses of the surrounding mountains. The disappointed monks then proceeded to La Guardia, where they succeeded in inducing the inhabitants to comply with their demands, by falsely representing that their brethren at S. Sisto had formally renounced their errors by attending mass; but the deception was soon discovered, and the inhabitants, suspecting treachery, determined to follow the example of their neighbours and join them in the woods. The monks, however, in the meantime, had sent troops in

under the government of the Duke of Montalto, the other of a certain Neapolitan nobleman, there have been found 4,000 brethren, the remains of the brethren called Waldenses. They

pursuit of the fugitives from S. Sisto, who were hunted down like wild beasts, until a party, who had taken possession of an almost inaccessible hill, was enabled to organize an attack, in which the soldiers were put to flight. This act of successful resistance exasperated the Church; and at the desire of the Pope, the Viceroy of Naples, Don Pedro de Toledo, marched in person into Calabria, with a large body of troops, and with a special commission appointed by the Neapolitan Inquisition. S. Sisto was delivered up to fire and the sword; the fugitives were tracked to their recesses, and either killed upon the spot, or left to die of hunger in the caverns to which they fled for shelter. The inquisitors now proceeded to La Guardia. The town was fortified, and as the Papal party could not reduce it by force, they gained possession of it by inducing the citizens to agree to a pretended exchange of prisoners. Seventy of the principal inhabitants were seized, and conveyed in chains to Montalto, where they were submitted to the most horrible tortures. Some were sawn through the middle; some thrown from high towers; others beaten to death with iron rods and burning torches; others had their bowels torn out; and one, Bernardino Conti, was covered with pitch, and publicly burnt to death in the streets of Cosenza. Neither females nor children escaped the fury of the inquisitors; but the details are too shocking to be related here. These events took place about 1555, exactly a century before the massacres in Piedmont, which called forth the indignant protest of Cromwell to the Duke of Savoy, and induced Milton, who then held the diplomatic pen of the great Protector, to express his feelings of pious sorrow in one of his finest sonnets. A few years afterwards, as the reformed doctrine continued to linger in several towns, in spite of these persecutions, another and more successful attempt was made to extirpate the heresy. In 1560, the Protestants of Montalto were put to death, one by one, under the superintendence of the Marquis of Bucchianico. A Roman Catholic eye-witness, who has left an account of this massacre, which Dr. M'Crie quotes in his History of the Reformation in Italy, states, that he can compare it to nothing but the slaughter of so many sheep. They were all shut up in one house as in a sheepfold. The executioner went, and bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin, led him out to a field near the house, and causing him to kneel down, cut his throat with a knife. Then taking the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he put to death after the same manner. In this way the whole number, amounting to eighty-eight men, were butchered. The bodies were then quartered, and hung up in the public roads from one end of Calabria to the other. The same eye-witness states that, 'the number of heretics taken in Calabria amounts to 1,600, all of whom are condemned, but only 88 have as yet been put to death.' The Viceroy of that time, Don Parasan de Rivera, Duke D'Alcala, ordered most of the survivors to be sent to the galleys, and the women and children to be sold as slaves. These details are confirmed by Tommaso Costo, in his notes on Collenuccio's History of Naples, by Gianone, and by many other writers of credit. The History of the Protestant persecutions in Calabria is one of the darkest pages in the annals of Christianity."

lived many years unknown, and safely, in their paternal settlements. Though they would not approve the Mass, they nevertheless thought that the faithful might attend it with a safe conscience. But, when they had been taught the evil character of its doctrine, the whole of them with one accord abstained from it. Consequently, they could no longer be concealed, and persecution was excited against them. They wrote to the brethren at Geneva, entreating their prayers, their counsel, and their kind assistance. We see that, even in Italy, the seat of Anti-Christ, the harvest is great, but the gatherers are very few. O God, have compassion on Italy!

In Spain, very many have been burnt; many more thrown into prison: still, as we hear, the Gospel spreads itself wonderfully. The whole world teems with (*parturit*) Christ; may our beneficent heavenly Father give a favourable birth!

You have a hasty report of all that appears to me worthy of communication at this time. See, distinguished man, how familiarly I write to you: be assured, therefore, not only of my regard, but of my love. Farewell.

Yours with the highest regard,

JEROME ZANCHY.

CXXXI.

MARTYR TO UTENHOVEN.

ZURICH, *January* 7, 1559.

[Holograph, Archives of the Belgic Church, Austin Friars, London.—Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV. 674, 4to. Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation now first published.*

GREETING. My Utenhoven, dearest friend, and respected brother in Christ: Your last letter, like the rest, greatly pleased me. For what true Christian would not be exhilarated by such news? If there be joy before the angels of God over one lost

sheep, what should be our delight over such provinces and such a kingdom as Poland, if (as you give us reason to hope) it be converted to the true religion of Christ. It seems to be the will of God that at this time his Kingdom should be extended.

I have written on the state of England to Master à Lasco. Both of you, I am sure, will rejoice and congratulate each other in Christ on such accessions, for each of you takes particular interest in the well-being of that kingdom.

I have sent to you both my Book, just printed, in which I have confuted the fallacies, quibbles, and sophisms of Gardiner, formerly Bishop of Winchester, on the Eucharistic matter. Possibly you will have more leisure than à Lasco for its perusal: I intreat you, therefore, (in order that greater fruit may come to the Church,) to agree with your Booksellers that, at the next Frankfort fair, they procure as many copies as they want for distribution through the realm;—I leave this to your discretion. I have resolved to dedicate the Book to the new Queen of England. We will be instant in prayer to God that he would reclaim for his Son the kingdoms of Poland and England.

But, since I have given à Lasco no news about the kingdom of Scotland, lay before him the following from me. The people there have the Gospel; for sermons are preached, and there is a due administration of the Sacraments. However these things have not been enacted by the laws of the realm, or by the will of the Queen; but the people have claimed them as their right by all-but-general consent. Moreover, at Edinburgh, on the 1st of September, when the principal image of the town, that of a certain St. Giles,[n] was carried about the city in solemn procession, according to custom, followed by the Queen herself and many of the nobles,—the people were excited, dispersed the whole procession, and threw the image into the public city sewer. The Queen and the nobles took refuge in the Castle. The popular leaders wrote to the King of France, that they wished to follow the pure religion; that if liberty to do so were

[n] Giles, Abbot and Confessor, is still retained in the Calendar of the Church of England, September 1. Tradition reports him to have been an Athenian, who became a hermit in France, and afterwards an Abbot. Sandringham Church, Norfolk, is said to have still his figure in stained glass, represented as an Abbot, caressing a hind,—that animal, according to the legend, having nourished him with milk when he was a hermit.—Such, probably, was the image carried about Edinburgh.

conceded, they would be quiet; otherwise, they declared they would join the English. So far, on Scotland.

King Philip, it is said, fearing some outbreak, has published an edict in a city of Spain called Validolid, to the effect, that no one is to be put to death on account of his religious opinions; and it is thought that he will shortly do the same thing in Flanders. You see, dearest brother in Christ, what a door is opened for the Gospel. I say nothing about the daily increase of the brethren in France; nothing about the death of the Duke of Brunswick, to whom his son, a favourer of the Gospel, has succeeded. May the Poles, without delay, follow these examples.

Farewell; and love me in Christ, as you do.

Zurich, January 7, 1559.

[PETER MARTYR.]

To his friend, and very respected brother, the noble and pious man, Master John Utenhoven, in Poland.

CXXXII.

CALVIN TO SECRETARY CECIL.°

GENEVA, *January* 29, 1559.

[Latin: printed in Calvini Opera IX. 133, col. 2, edit. Amstelodami, fol. 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.*

I WILL not make a long apology for writing to you, accomplished Sir, though personally unknown to you; for, on the

° It appears that Cecil did not acknowledge this letter, and that Calvin subsequently sent him a copy, together with another letter (printed in Zurich Letters, p. 76, Parker Society, 2d edit., 1846,) without date. The Queen declined Calvin's proposal to dedicate to her his commentaries on Isaiah: being offended, under the mistaken impression that Calvin had approved Knox's Work, published at Geneva, in 1556—57, "*The first blast against the monstrous regiment and empire of women.*" Calvin complains that Cecil had not shewn him courtesy in his conferences with the Queen on this matter, which, he maintains, had not been fairly represented.

testimony of some pious men who have informed me of your kind disposition, I feel assured that you will be spontaneously inclined to receive my letter favourably, especially when, after perusal, you shall have become acquainted with my design.

It is well known that,—from the moment when the horrible darkness, which nearly stupefied the minds of the pious, was dispersed, and the new light suddenly shone forth, contrary to all expectation,—you have diligently used that influence which you possess, in no slight degree, with your most serene Queen, to the end that the sincere doctrine of the Gospel, and the pure and uncorrupted worship of God, should again flourish, by the exclusion of those Popish superstitions which for four years have prevailed throughout your country. Wherefore, it is needless for me to exhort you to *begin* to fight freely and openly for Christ: but yet I may encourage you to *persevere* in what you have already undertaken, still more strenuously, and with invincible constancy; and not to allow your holy endeavours—I will not say to be broken down, but—in the slightest degree to be retarded, by any troubles, difficulties, hostilities, terrors. Indeed, I doubt not that obstacles occur to you, in this career, or that conflicts are presented to your eyes, which might cause the bravest to faulter, if God did not support them by the wonderful influence[p] of His Spirit: but this Cause is one for the defence of which we must not shrink from any kind of labour. As long, indeed, as the slaughter-house[q] was open for butchering the sons of God, even yourself, among others, was struck dumb. Now, at least, when by the fresh and incredible goodness of God, greater liberty is restored, it becomes you to take courage, and to compensate your timidity, if you may have hitherto manifested any, by the ardour of your zeal.

I am not indeed ignorant how much mischief is sometimes done by extravagant haste, and that many, by inconsiderate and precipitate zeal, retard what they desire to drive instantaneously to the goal. But, on the other hand, you ought to weigh well, that, since the work of God is to restore pure Gospel-truth and the whole of religion, it must not be undertaken sluggishly. What advances it may be expedient to make, and what moderation to observe, you will be better able to judge from existing circumstances. But bear in mind that all delay, by whatever

[p] "Virtute." [q] "Carnificina."

specious colour it may be disguised, ought to be viewed by you with a jealous eye.[r] One cause for fear, I venture to think, is from a popular movement; since there are not wanting many fans[s] [to sedition] among the Nobles: and, if there should be any tumult in England, there are neighbours at hand, who are too greedily watching for all sorts of opportunities. But your most serene Queen, who has been raised to the throne in a wonderful manner by the hand of God, has no other means of manifesting her gratitude, than by shaking off all delays by prompt alacrity, and by overcoming all impediments by nobleness of mind. Now, since it is next to impossible that, amidst such turbulence and confusion, she should not be uncertain as to her first measures,[t] be perplexed, hesitate, or often vacillate; I have been bold enough to exhort her to persevere without wavering in that right course on which she has entered. Whether I have done this prudently, or not, others must judge. If you will use your influence to render my admonition fruitful, I shall not repent of my design.

Do you, also, most distinguished Sir,—laying to heart that you have been placed by Divine Providence[u] in that station of favour and dignity which you occupy,—give yourself wholly to this important matter, stretch every nerve for the accomplishment of this work. And, lest any remissness should steal upon you, bear in mind of what moment are these two things:—that religion which has miserably fallen into ruin, the doctrine of salvation which has been adulterated by execrable lies, the worship of God which has been foully polluted, should recover their gracefulness,[v] and the Church be purged from corruptions; —moreover, that the sons of God should have liberty to call purely on His name, and to assemble together from their various dispersions.

Farewell, accomplished and deeply respected Sir. May the Lord govern you by His Spirit, preserve, and enrich you with every kind of blessings.

Geneva, January 29, 1559.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

To Sir William Cecil, Secretary to the Queen of England.

[r] "Debere tibi esse suspectum." [s] "Flabella."
[t] "Inter principia distrahatur." [u] "Divinitùs." [v] "Nitorem."

CXXXIII.

BULLINGER TO UTENHOVEN.

ZURICH, *August* 24, 1559.

[Autograph in the Archives of the Belgic Church, Austin Friars, London.—Printed in Gerdes, Scrinium Antiquarium, IV. i. 444, edit. Groningæ, 1754.]

† *Translation now first published—Extract.*

I RECEIVED your letter of June 13, written at Frankfort-on-the Main, sufficiently late. I now reply. I do not know whether Master Peter [Martyr] has written to you. I inclose some testimonial letters received from the brethren in Poland. I do not, however, send any letters to the Queen [of England], as you requested. A few words will give you the reason. I feel a modest scruple[w] as to addressing the Queen; because I once wrote, perhaps somewhat imprudently, and I rather doubt whether this was pleasing to Her Royal Majesty; it is not, therefore, without reason that I refrain from writing a second time. Lest, however, I should disappoint your hope, (—for I am ready to serve my respected brother in every way to the best of my ability,—) I have inclosed a letter to the Queen's Preacher, in which I have commended your cause[x] in order that he may urge it on the Queen. . . .

I see that there will be no little disturbance in England, if the Augsburg Confession be received, which some persons wish—a most undesirable thing on many accounts. This [Church] vexes all the purer Churches, and would fain corrupt them by her leaven. May God restrain men sufficiently hostile, even in other respects, to the pious and to a purer piety, &c. You know what was done in Poland: beware, and lend your influence against its reception. The Reformation of Edward satisfies the pious: this is much better than the Augsburg Confession: but I say no more on that matter. . . .

[w] "Erubui."

[x] Probably this was or the re-establishment of the Belgic Church in London.

Through the blessing of God, our state is the same as it has been for some years: pray the Lord for us, and love us.

Write very particularly, I intreat you, on the affairs of England and Scotland. The Lord Jesus extend His kingdom far and wide! May He be blessed for ever!

Farewell. I have written this letter in the greatest haste. The brethren salute you.

Zurich, August 24, 1559.

Thy

BULLINGER.

To Master John Utenhoven of Ghent, a man of distinguished piety and erudition, his respected and dear brother, now residing at Frankfort.

CXXXIV.

KNOX TO CALVIN.

[EDINBURGH,] *August* 28, 1559.

[Latin: Calvini Opera, IX. 201, col. 2, edit. Amstelodami, folio, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.*

MOST respected brethren in Christ. You will learn from this brother, dear to me and to the whole Church on account of his piety, what is the state of my affairs, by what forces and artillery we have been and are menaced, and how by the help of God we have hitherto been preserved from our enemies. Receive him, I intreat you, with the same kindness you would shew to myself; and tell him your opinion on the underwritten articles.

1. Whether illegitimate children, the offspring of idolatrous and excommunicated persons, ought to be admitted to Baptism, before their parents have submitted themselves to the Church by repentance, or those who have sprung from them are able to seek Baptism?

2. Whether it be lawful to pay pensions to monks and Popish priests,[y] who neither serve, nor on account of their habits can serve, the Church of God, even though they confess with the mouth their former errors?

Because I negative these propositions, I am esteemed unjustly severe, not only by Papists, but by those who appear to themselves to be advocates for the truth.

I am unable to write more, being very ill of a fever, and overwhelmed by a weight of employment, under the fire of the cannon of the French,[z] who have approached us with a view to oppress us. He, whose cause we defend, will be present to His own. Remember us in your prayers. Grace be with you. In great haste, August 28, 1559.

Your most attached,

JOHN KNOX.

CXXXV.

CALVIN TO KNOX.

GENEVA, *November* 8, 1559.

[Latin: Calvini Opera IX., 201, col. 2, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

EXCELLENT BROTHER,—If I answer your letter more tardily than you expected, your countryman, who brought it, will be my best witness that idleness has not been the cause of my delay. You yourself well know how rare are the opportunities of writing to you, since in the present confusion all access to your country is difficult. . . . .

Respecting the Questions which you have proposed for our

[y] "Sacrificulis."

[z] One thousand French soldiers had just arrived, and had fortified Leith; keeping Edinburgh in constant alarm, and soon after pillaging that city.

solution, after conference with my colleagues, we have unanimously resolved to return you the following answer:—

It is not without reason you ask,—Whether the children of idolatrous and excommunicated persons ought to be admitted to Baptism, before their parents have testified their repentance. For due care is always to be taken, that the sanctity of this Mystery be not profaned; which certainly would be done, if it were promiscuously granted to aliens, or if any were received without fit sponsors, and who cannot be reckoned among the legitimate citizens of the Church.

But since, in the right use of Baptism, the authority of God is always to be regarded, and His Institution ought to prevail as a fixed principle,[a] here in the first place we must consider whom God invites by His voice to Baptism. The promise not only comprehends the seed of each of the faithful in the first degree, but is extended to a thousand generations. Hence it follows, that the interruption of piety, which prevailed in the Papacy, has not taken away the vigour and efficacy of Baptism. Its origin must be looked at, and the very character and nature of Baptism must be estimated by the promise. We cannot entertain the slightest doubt, that the seed of holy and pious ancestors, although their progenitors and parents may have been apostates, belong nevertheless to the body of the Church. For, as it was a depraved and mad superstition among the Papists, to steal or kidnap the children of Jews and Turks, and immediately baptize them; so, wherever the profession of Christianity has not altogether decayed or become extinct, infants are defrauded of their right, if they are debarred from the common Symbol; since, when God has thought them worthy of His adoption three hundred years or more ago, it is unjust that the subsequent impiety of parents should cut off the stream of heavenly grace. Moreover, since each is received to Baptism, not simply through respect or favour shewn to his individual father, but by reason of the perpetual covenant of God; so it cannot reasonably be suffered, that infants shall be denied ingress to the Church through displeasure against an individual parent.

[a] "Pro certâ ratione valere."

Nevertheless, we hold the necessity of Sponsion. For nothing is more preposterous, than that those should be ingrafted into the body of Christ, whom we cannot hope to be His disciples. Hence, if no relation appears to pledge his faith to the Church, and to undertake the charge of instructing the infant, the act is illusory, and Baptism is polluted. But, whenever an infant is offered with a legitimate Sponsion, we see no reason why it should be rejected. Consider further, that the circumstances of a Church just reviving, are different from those of one duly formed and settled. For, while the Church is collecting her members from their sad[b] dispersion, the privilege of Baptism, having been possessed for a long series of ages and claimed even to our days, is to be retained: in the course of time, any license that has crept in must be corrected, and parents must be strictly enjoined[c] to offer their children, and to become their first sponsors. If in the very beginning absolute perfection be exacted, it is greatly to be feared lest many, greedily seizing on this opportunity [for neglect], should quietly rest in their abominations. We confess, indeed, that we ought to be specially careful not to diverge in the slightest manner from the line divinely marked out for us: but we think we have briefly shewn, that it would be a too severe prohibition to reject from Baptism those who undoubtedly belong to the family[d] of the Church. Till, therefore, progress towards a better state of things can be expected, and discipline obtains its due force, let infants be received on the condition we have stated—namely, that sponsors promise to bestow care and diligence on their moral and sincere training. In the meantime we do not deny, that idolaters, when children are born to them, should be sharply admonished and exhorted to devote themselves truly to God; and excommunicated persons, to reconcile themselves to the Church.[e]

* * * * * * *

Farewell, excellent man, and dearest brother. Salute the whole congregation of the pious in our name. We pray God to

[b] "Horrendâ." [c] "Cogendi." [d] "Domestici."

[e] The remainder of this letter gives Calvin's opinion, that Monks and Mass-Priests should support themselves by honest labour, and not rely on public pensions.

govern you to the end by His Spirit, to support you by His strength, to guard you by His defence.

Geneva, November 8, 1559.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

CXXXVI.

CALVIN TO GRINDAL, BISHOP OF LONDON.

GENEVA, *May* 15, 1560.

[Latin: Calvini Opera IX., 144, col. 2, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.*

ALTHOUGH, eminent and respected Prelate,[f] you are not expecting me to return you thanks for that pious support which you have given to the Church of Christ; yet I should be justly chargeable with folly and with incivility, were I not to acknowledge my obligations to you, for your condescension in having cherished with so much care our people who dwell in the chief City of your Diocese—not only by procuring liberty for them through the favour of the Queen to worship God in purity, but to seek a faithful pastor from this country. Since you have not felt it troublesome voluntarily to request and exhort me to undertake the choice of a suitable pastor for them; it is needless for me to commend to your care and patronage, those whose welfare you are so desirous to promote. As hitherto you have manifested such a rare and singular zeal for religion, by affording them liberal assistance, so now you will consistently prosecute your kind offices to a successful termination. With regard to ourselves, as the situation seems to demand a man endued with super-excellent qualities, and as your guests desired that some one should be sent to them from our congregation, we would rather rob ourselves than not comply with their holy wish. On that account, we have agreed to send them Nicholas de Gallars,[g] one of the three whom they originally nominated.

[f] "Domine."

[g] Nicholas de Gallars reached England towards the end of June, 1560, on the

Although he was reluctant to be torn from us, by whom he knew that he was exceedingly beloved, and though he regretted to leave this place in which he had long been working profitably and faithfully; nevertheless, yielding to our earnest requests, he has undertaken to occupy this situation, as one which he hopes will give him no small advantage for extending the kingdom of Christ. I assure you, necessity alone has prevailed with us to send him away from us; for we feared that we had no other means, than through his appointment, of providing suitably for the yet tender and unsettled Church. This place will suffer no trifling loss by his departure; for he has been highly valued, and has conducted himself worthily as a servant of Christ. For myself, I have not assented, without bitter grief, to be deprived of so very dear and intimate a friend: but anything was more tolerable, than to deny the destitute and oppressed brethren the assistance they so anxiously implored. Hence I the more earnestly trust that he will find at least an agreeable station in your country, to soothe and solace him under his regret at leaving his own land. When he shall have become better known to you, [Right] Reverend Lord, which I trust you will kindly permit him to be, you will discover, without the commendation of others, how amiable he is. Now, if you permit me to have the slightest influence, I very earnestly intreat you to shew favour and kindness to one whom you know I so highly value.

It occasions me deep concern, that the Churches throughout the whole Kingdom are not so settled as all good men wished and at first hoped. However, there is need of indefatigable effort to overcome obstacles. It is expedient, and indeed absolutely necessary, that the Queen should now know, that you willingly dismiss—aye, reject—from yourselves everything which savours of worldly domination, for the very purpose that you may be established in a legitimate and Divinely-bestowed authority for the exercise of your spiritual office. This will be her true Highness and Eminence; she will then hold the supreme

30th of which month he wrote to Calvin, and gave him an account of his courteous reception by Grindal: see Zurich Letters, p. 49, 2d series, 1st edit. He soon resigned his post at the French Church, and returned to Geneva, taking with him a letter from Bishop Grindal to Calvin, dated June 19, 1563; which is printed in the Zurich Letters, p. 96, 2d series, 1st edit. In 1564 he became minister of the Church at Orleans. In 1570 he published at Geneva an edition of Irenæus.

post of dignity under Christ the Head, if she stretches out her hand to legitimate pastors to fulfil the duties which are enjoined you. But since neither your prudence needs counsel, nor your magnanimity excitement, I will simply have recourse to supplications—and I pray God, distinguished and respected Prelate, to govern you by His Spirit, sustain you by His might, defend you by His guardianship, and bless your holy labours. All my colleagues reverently salute you.

Geneva, May 15, 1560.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

CXXXVII.

CALVIN TO KNOX.

GENEVA, *April* 23, 1561.

[Latin: Calvini Opera IX., 150, col. 1, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.—Extract.*

* * * * * * * * *

I AM exceedingly glad, as I ought to be, that the Gospel is making such happy and joyful progress among you. That strifes are excited, is no new thing: but in this the power of God is more brightly conspicuous, that no attempts of Satan and of wicked men have hitherto prevented you from advancing in the right course, with victorious perseverance; for you would never have been able to resist, had not He, who is superior to the whole world, brought you help from heaven.

With regard to ceremonies, I trust (though it may be displeasing to many) you will moderate your vigour. True it is, we must endeavour to purge the Church from all abominations which have flowed from error and superstition. We must also make every effort to prevent the Mysteries of God being contaminated by ludicrous or insipid mixtures. This exception being admitted, you are not unaware that some things, which cannot be altogether approved, must be tolerated.

It grieves me exceedingly, that your noble men are torn

asunder by intestine dissensions. It is not unreasonable that you should be more vexed and distressed by the internal workings of Satan, than you have hitherto been by the attacks of the French. You must implore God to apply a remedy to this evil, also. Here, we are exercised by many troubles. A simple confidence in our Heavenly Guardian, has kept us from trepidation; although we are not altogether free from apprehension.

Farewell, excellent Sir, and cordially esteemed brother. May the Lord be ever with you, govern, protect, and sustain you by His might. Your bereavement has occasioned me, as it ought, bitter grief; for you possessed a wife, whose equals are not generally found. As you have well learned to what source you must apply for consolation in sorrow, I do not doubt that you will bear this calamity with patience.

Salute very particularly in my name your pious brethren. My colleagues wish you much health.

Geneva, April 23, 1561.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

CXXXVIII.

CALVIN TO CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.[h]

GENEVA, *April* 23, 1561.

[Latin: Calvini Opera, IX. 150, col. 1, edit. folio, Amstelodami, 1667.]

† *Translation now first published.*

YOUR letter was, on many accounts, very gratifying to me. Although it was unnecessary for you to make an apology for

[h] Christopher Goodman, son of William Goodman, of Chester, was Reader in Divinity at Oxford in Edward VI.'s time. He fled from the Marian persecution to Frankfort in 1553, where he took part against Cox, in his attempt to supersede the Second Liturgy of King Edward. He left Frankfort about September, 1555. He was admitted a citizen of Geneva, June 1, 1558. He had returned to England before April 28, 1559, on which day Jewel writes to Martyr, "I hear that Goodman is in this country, but so that he dare not show his face, and appear in public. How much better would it have been to have

your very long silence,—since it is not my habit to exact letters from my friends as a duty, and since I am fully persuaded that your regard for me can never fail,—still it gave me pleasure to receive it, because it was a proof of your pious anxiety that I should not consider myself neglected.

While I feel much sympathy with our brother Knox, in the loss of his very sweet wife, I rejoice that he has not been so afflicted by her death as to relax his strenuous exertions for Christ and the Church. It is no common solace, that he has you for his faithful and very suitable adjutor. I do not see how you can lawfully desert that Province, in such destitution. Rather, that paucity [of labourers] which you so justly deplore, ought to excite you and the rest to hearty perseverance. If necessity be the sharpest stimulus to alacrity, this [truth] ought certainly to have the greatest influence in the work of the Lord, in which we are assured our labour shall never be in vain; though the eager endeavours of the children of this world are often frustrated. Hence, excellent brother, you ought, in my judgment, to go on with your work, until God shall have better established the Scottish Church by additional aid.

Farewell, excellent Sir, and respected brother. The Lord govern you by the Spirit of prudence and fortitude, and bless your labours. My fellow-ministers salute you.

Geneva, April 23, 1561.

[JOHN CALVIN.]

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been wise in time! If he will but acknowledge his error, there will be no danger. But, as he is a man of irritable temper, and too pertinacious in any thing he has once undertaken, I am rather afraid that he will not yield." Zurich Letters, p. 21, 1st edition, 1842. While at Geneva, he wrote a book (printed by Crispin, at Geneva, 1558, in 16mo.) against Queen Mary's cruel government, in which he inveighed (as Knox also did) against the government of women: this work would, of course, make him obnoxious to Queen Elizabeth: Strype gives a full account of it, Annals I. i., pp. 181—187. His revocation of his book is still preserved among the Petyt MSS. in the Inner Temple, and is printed by Strype, as above, p. 184. In July, 1560, he was appointed preacher at St. Andrew's, as Knox was at Edinburgh. Wodrow Society, Misc. I., 321. He returned to England, and was Chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, when he went against the Popish rebels there. In June, 1571, he was before Archbishop Parker, for examination as to his conformity. (Parker's Correspondence, p. 382.) He settled in Chester, where, in 1602, Archbishop Usher conversed with him in extreme old age.

CXXXIX.

MARTYR TO THE EARL OF BEDFORD.

ZURICH, [*July*[a]] 1561.

[Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 164, col. 2.]

Translation by Marten.

THE courtesie of your excellent Lordship hath beene so great towards mee, as neither am I able, nor yet knowe I howe to expresse it. Wherefore since I cannot write unto you as I ought, perhappes it were better for me to holde my peace; which neverthelesse the gratitude of a Christian man will not permit. Wherefore not knowing else what to do I will let ye matter rest. And setting aside ye praise of your godlinesse, nobilitie, and goodnesse, I will onelie give you thankes for the favour, helpe, and courtesie which you have showed toward Julius, my faithful servaunt, in his businesse. For the which I account myself so greatly and effectually bound unto you, as more I cannot be if I would. And truely for his part, he is never well appaied nor content but when he is declaring and setting forth your honors courtesie and goodwil: affirming that without your helpe, favour, and travell he coulde never have despatched his businesse. And this undoubtedly is a singular pleasure unto me, because I am sure, that both in him and in me you chiefely respect Jesus Christ and His syncere religion, wherein how zealous you are, and how fervently you love the same, it is everywhere knowē and of all men confessed. And that causeth al good Christians to love and honor you in their heart. Which, notwithstanding it be a great glorie in itselfe, yet is it nothing in comparison of the great pleasure that our Almighty God taketh therin. And I

[a] See a Letter, dated July 22, 1561, on the same subject "to a very honorable Prince in England." Martyris Epist. Theolog., 1576, No. XLVI.;—Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 127; printed in Zurich Letters, p. 120, 2d edit. Parker Society.

likewise know that this is it which hath caused you to make me such an offer as you have. For the which I give you very great thankes. And I answere that, as the cause standeth, I am not now minded to labour or seeke for the same, having (thankes be to God) food and clothing competent enough, wherewith I content myself, and seek for nothing else. But when it shall happen otherwise, I will not refuse your Honour's helpe, to whome I might seeme to doe injurie if I should chaunge you for another, since you give a verie manifest testimonie that you love mee exceeding much, as well for the glorie of God's sake, as for the affection that I have alwayes borne to that godlie and glorious kingdome. Whereupon I rejoice with all my heart that ye cause so standeth with the same as it now doeth. For I am well assured that the love thereof towardes mee will growe everie day more and more, seeing the goodwil that I beare to the English nation doth continually waxe greater and greater.

Nowe, as touching leave to see you againe safe and sounde in person for the commoditie (as you write) both of your coūtrie and my own comfort, I am very sorie that I cannot answere you in such sorte as may satisfie both you and myselfe. Truelie, if I might have mine own will, I woulde as leue serve the Church of Englande than before time I have doone: howbeit neither mine age nor the strength of my body will any longer indure the same, being not able to indure a viage so long, so divers, and not altogether easie. Wherein also, for one of my age and feeblenesse there be manie daungers: and the labours there will be more greevous unto me than those that we have here. Wherefore to the intent that I become not unprofitable both unto you and also to them that be here: it seemeth better for me that I remain where I am. And this doe not only I judge but so likewise doth the Magistrate together with the Ministers of this Church, who otherwise would be most readie to pleasure your excellēt Lordship as much as lieth in their power, especially in those thinges that tend to the spreading and setting foorth of the Gospel of Christ. Neverthelesse my good Lord, wheresoever I shall bee I am readie at your commandement and to doe you anie service, desiring you that for God's cause you wil continuallie growe up in al goodnes especially in the indevour of confirming and enlarging the Gospell of the Sonne of God.

Finally, if as you write unto me you have been greatly

satisfied by my good and faithfull servaunt Julius, thereby doe I receive verie great comfort. For I loving him very much as I doe both for the zeale that hee hath unto godlinesse and sound religion, and also for other good parts that be in him, there can be no greater contentation unto me, than to see him wel accepted of such a one as your honor is, whose service I, having no means to recompence, you in some part may helpe him when need shal require. Again if, as you write, you accept well of his friendship: undoubtedly to serve you wil alwaies be most acceptable unto him. The Lorde God long preserve you in health to the service of the Church and the commonweale.

From Zurich, 1561.

[P. MARTYR.]

CXL.

MARTYR TO BISHOP PARKHURST.

ZURICH, *August* 23, 1561.

[Latin: Martyris Epist. Theolog. edit. Lond. 1583, p. 1136. English Translation by Anthonie Marter, in Martyr's Divine Epistles, 1583, p. 148, col. 2.]

To the Reverend Father in Christ, JOHN PARKHURST, by the grace of God Bishop of Norwich, his most respected Lord.

I shall not write much, Reverend Prelate, for the many matters with which I am fully occupied allow me but little leisure. Thus much, however, I will say, that your letter, delivered to me by Julius, was for many reasons very acceptable. Yet this grieved me not a little, that for two of yours I see that you have received but one of mine, while I am confident that I replied to both. But what can I do here? Letters not unfrequently either go astray, or, from the negligence of those whose duty it was to have seen them sent to you, lie quietly in some desk or case: a circumstance which commonly happens to mine and to those of our Reverend friend Jewel. Wherefore I beg

you not to think that anything of this kind has happened from want of respect, for assuredly I have, as in duty bound, the greatest respect and reverence for your Excellency. Would that I were able some time to make this manifest. Now (which I see I can do) I send you a Dialogue[a] which I have written, against the Ubiquity of Brentius. For, some months since, he published a book in which he attempts with all his might to defend that doctrine. Hence I have been strongly urged by the brethren here to reply to him; and this I have done to the best of my power. You, however, Reverend Prelate, and other learned men, will judge how far I have succeeded.[b] Pantachus, in the Dialogue, represents Brentius and Orothetes myself.

Now that I am already old, and might fairly be released, my labours increase, and I am summoned to France to a Conference to be held about religion. A public promise has been brought to me, in the name of the King and of the Queen mother, both signed and sealed, and by letter from the King of Navarre; I

[a] The title of this work is:—*Dialogus de utraque in Christo naturâ, &c.... Authore D. Petro Martyre Vermelio Florentini. Tiguri. Froschever. Nov.* 1561. Small 8vo., ff. 135, There is a Dedication, of pp. 14, to Bishop Jewel, dated at Zurich, August 15, 1561. In this he observes:—"You inform me, in your last letter but one, [probably that dated Nov. 6, 1660, see Zurich Letters, p. 116, 2d edit. Parker Society,] that there have not been wanting, even among you, some who begin to think about Ubiquity..... I entreat you, use every effort that the pure doctrine of the Holy Supper may be preserved.....The Devil is never more dismayed, than when the Holy Gospel of the Son of God is purely and chastely preached in the Church. Hence, in Reformed congregations it is his chief endeavour, both openly and stealthily, to get falsehood mixed with truth; and, by artfully besmearing lies with honey, he obtrudes on the faithful in Christ new and most absurd dogmas to be believed and professed, in order that he may expose them to their sworn enemies, and make them appear ridiculous and contemptible to prudent men." With regard to his intimate acquaintance with Jewel, he adds:—"At Oxford, I knew you to be highly distinguished by eloquence and learning, but there we did not live in company with each other.....but, subsequently, when you had emigrated from England to Germany, and lived with me many years under the same roof and at the same table, where we were daily partakers of the same sweetest conversations, exercises, and studies,—I was the best qualified person, among all others, to form an unerring judgment of your sincere faith."

[b] In this Dialogue, Martyr introduces Jewel under the name of *Palæmon*, as the moderator between Brentius, under the name of *Pantachus* (from Πανταχοῦ, *everywhere*), a Ubiquitarian, and himself, *Orothetes* (Ὀροθέτης, a *boundary-setter*), as maintaining that the Body of Christ is circumscribed and limited in extent.

am sent for by our most honoured Senate, with such urgency that it seems hardly possible to delay the journey; and, as the matter is so weighty and full of peril, I beseech your Excellency again and again seriously to commend both it and myself to God in your prayers.

I thank you heartily, moreover, that you have received Julius with such kindness and affection. Indeed, he talks much of your courtesy, which I not only believe, but, with all that of your kindness you have done for him, I reckon as for myself, and pray God may long preserve you with us in safety.

Farewell, Reverend Prelate. Love me, I pray you, as indeed you do. My wife wishes you much health, and both of us together most lovingly salute you.

23 August, 1561.

[P. MARTYR.]

CXLI.

THE DECLARATION OF PETER MARTYR, TOUCHING THE PRESENCE OF THE BODY OF CHRIST IN THE EUCHARIST, MADE BY HIM IN THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE PROTESTANTS AND PAPISTS AT POISSY, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE KING AND QUEEN.

POISSY, *September* 26,[a] 1561.

[Printed in P. Martyris Loci Communes, ad finem, p. 1070, edit. Lond., 1583. —At the end of Martyr's Common Places, in a Supplementary "Collection of Certeine Diuine Matters," translated by Antonie Marten, 1583, p. 141 (misprinted p. 125).]

Translation.

REVEREND PRELATES AND VERY LEARNED MEN,—When an agreement seemed nearly to have been attained concerning the presence of the Body of Christ in the use of His Supper, I

[a] This date is ascertained by Martyr's Letter to Bullinger, from the Court at St. Germain's, Oct. 2, 1561. ("Divine Epistles," p. 155, col. 1.) Martyr has given a detailed and exceedingly interesting account of this fruitless Conference (which lasted from the 12th of September to the 4th of October), and of the tricks of the Romish bishops, in seven letters to Bullinger, Calvin, and Louis Lavater ("Divine Epistles," pp. 149, 151, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159), which would fill about eighteen pages of the present volume.

yesterday declared what was my belief and opinion on that dogma. And as I then expressed it in words, so at the present time I have resolved to read it from writing, that I may so make it more clear and distinct to you.

I hold, therefore, that the real and substantial Body of Christ is only in Heaven, but yet that faithful communicants do, by faith and in a spiritual manner, verily receive His very Body and very Blood, which for us were delivered unto the Cross. Wherefore I can by no means admit either transubstantiation or consubstantiation in the bread and wine of the Supper.

Next, I affirm that local distance is no obstacle to our union with the Body and Blood of Christ, since the Lord's Supper is a heavenly matter; and although we receive on earth bread and wine with our bodily mouth, yet by faith and the help of the Holy Spirit, our souls (to which this spiritual and Divine food specially belongs) being raised to heaven, enjoy the present Body and Blood of Christ. And so I assert that there is no need to hold that the Body of Christ is truly, substantially, and corporally present, either with ourselves or the symbols, by any non-local presence. Moreover, I say that the things signified are not otherwise than sacramentally conjoined to their outward symbols, because they are not ordinarily or lightly represented thereby, but according to the institution of the Lord.

This is the sum of my belief which I hold on this dogma; and therefore I admit the formulæ of agreement which have been introduced in that construction whereby they are referred or may be accommodated to the meaning I have now expressed. But if any wrest them or interpret them contrary thereto, I profess that I differ from him. And when mention is made in these formulæ of the substance of the body of Christ, I understand by that name or word nothing else than the true Body of Christ. For our faith is not directed towards a feigned object or phantom, but the true natural human Body, which the Word of God took of the blessed Virgin, and gave unto the Cross for us. Wherefore there is no reason why we should from that word be concluded to hold that the Real Presence is anywhere else than in heaven.

I, Peter Martyr Vermilius, a Florentine, have written this with my own hand, and with my own mouth made profession thereof before the Reverend Doctors in Conference assembled.

CXLII.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER'S SEALS. 1560—1575.

[I.] PARKER'S ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEAL.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER, following the example of Cranmer, altogether discarded the Popish figurations and superstitious representations which had been for so many ages in use by his predecessors, and adopted a Scriptural subject for the Official Seal of his See.

His beautiful Archiepiscopal Seal is large, oval, 3¾ inches by 2⅝ inches. Legend:—✠ SIGILLV · MATTHAEI · PARKER · CANTVARIEN · ARCHI · EPI ·

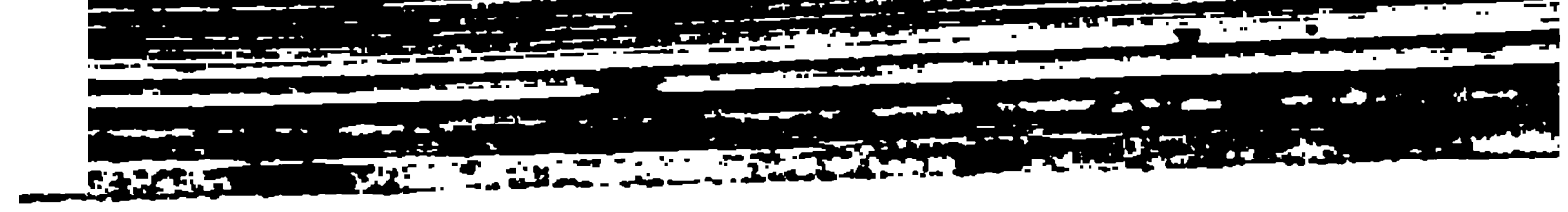
It represents *the last Judgment*. In the centre is the terraqueous Globe, on which rest the feet of the Ancient of Days seated on the clouds as His Judicial Throne; His right hand (beneath which is the invitation, VENITE,) is elevated in the act of benediction; His left is depressed, as confirming the sentence of condemnation, and points to the denunciation, ABITE. Over the summit of the clouds, is the Archbishop's accustomed motto, MVNDVS TRANSIT, descriptive of the subject of the Seal. On each side of the world, is a flying Angel blowing a trumpet. Below the world is a perspective view of the graves opening and the dead coming forth. On the dexter side of the resurrection scene, are the temples and palaces of the new Jerusalem, towards which the blessed are hastening. On the sinister side, are the flames of the fiery lake, into which the Arch-Fiend is thrusting the cursed.

At the bottom of the Seal, is an escutcheon: Gules, on a Chevron between three Keys (Argent), three Estoilles[1] (of the field), for *Parker*.

At the top, is the date 1560, the first year of the Archbishop's Consecration.

[1] The Lambeth MS., No. 555, erroneously gives *Mullets* instead of *Estoilles*.

MATTHEW PARKER'S ARCHIEPISCOPAL SEAL (?)



Abp Wilkins Temporalities Seal
1503

Only one example of this Seal has occurred to me; being a cast by Mr. Ready from an impression among the Archives of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, but to what deed it is annexed has not been ascertained.

[II.] PARKER'S PREROGATIVE SEAL.

Large, oval, 3¾ inches by 2½ inches. Legend:—SIGILLVM · CVRIÆ · PRÆROGATIVÆ · MATHEI · PARKER · DEI · GRATIA · CANT · ARCHIEPI ·

The subject is,—a Judge seated under a canopy between two Assessors. Below in an Escutcheon on a Cross, the letters ſ and x impaling, on a Chevron between three Keys, three Estoilles.

Of this Seal, four impressions have been seen by the Editor of this Volume.

1. In the British Museum, Harleian Charters, 75. F. 27.; to letters of Administration of the goods of Jane Clark, deceased, granted to Roger Alford, and Elizabeth his wife, mother of the aforesaid Jane Clark: dated May 17, 1563. It is a perfect Seal, and a fine, sharp impression.

2. In the Chapter House, Westminster, Drawer I., Pyx 35.; to letters of Administration of the goods of John Kete, of Hagbourne, Diocese of Salisbury: dated December 7, 1563.

3. In the Chapter House, Westminster, Drawer I., Pyx 36.; to letters of Administration of the goods of Morys Knyvett, of Westrye, Diocese of St. Asaph: dated May 18, 1564.

4. In the British Museum, Harleian Charters, 75. F. 28.; to letters of Administration of the goods of Philip Chute, of Castro de Camber, near Rye, granted to Alexander Culpeper, of Bedgbery, in the county of Kent, Esq.; and another: dated April 26, 1567.

[III.] ARCHBISHOP PARKER'S PRIVATE SEALS.

Impressions of no fewer than *five* private Seals of Archbishop Parker remain.

1. Round, ⅝ths of an inch diameter. An escutcheon, charged with the Archbishop's favourite Monograph, containing the letters MATTHEVS PARKER in a Cypher. This was, probably, his Seal before he was advanced to the Primacy. (From a Deed,

date not noted, in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; a cast by Mr. Ready.)

2. Bluntly oval, 1⅛ inch by 1 inch. Two shields laterally united:—dexter shield, on a cross, the letters ſ and x; sinister shield, Gules on a Chevron between three Kings Argent three Estoilles of the field, for *Parker*. On the sides of the shield, M., P. On a ribband at the top, MVNDVS TRANSIT. Below, the Archbishop's favourite Monogram, containing the letters MATTHEVS PARKER, in a Cypher, and beneath it the date 1559. Behind the whole, an Archbishop's Pastoral Staff. (From a Deed, date not noted, in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; a cast by Mr. Ready.)

3. Bluntly oval, 1⅛ inch by 1 inch. Precisely the same as the last:—except that the legend on the ribband, the Monogram, and the date, are omitted; and that the shields are rather longer.—The silver matrix of this Seal was accidentally purchased a few years ago, and is now in possession of Miss Ffarington, of Worden, near Preston, who obligingly sent me an impression.

4. Round, ¾ths of an inch in diameter. An escutcheon, the arms of *Parker*. Crest: an Archbishop's Mitre. The escutcheon is placed between the letters, M., P. (From a Deed, date not noted, in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; a cast by Mr. Ready.)

5. Bluntly oval, 1¼ inches by 1 inch. The arms of the See of *Canterbury*, impaling *Parker*. Behind the whole is an Archbishop's Pastoral Staff. At the top is the date 1573; below is the Archbishop's Cypher Monogram; and the whole is encircled by the legend, MVNDVS · TRANSIT · ET · CONCVPIA · EIVS · ETAT · SVÆ · 70 · An impression remains to an Original Letter, from Parker to Mr. John Boys, dated Dec. 5, 1573; in the possession of the Rev. Samuel Simpson, M.A., Douglas. (See Correspondence of Parker, Parker Soc., 8vo., 1853, p. 452; where, however, the legend of the Seal is incorrectly given.)

Abp. Parkers Private Seal.

SEAL OF BISHOP JEWELL (1560)

CXLIII.

BISHOP JEWEL'S EPISCOPAL SEAL. 1560.

THIS fine Seal is oval, 3 inches by 2¼ inches. Legend:—SIGILLVM · IOHANNIS · IEWEL · EPISCOPI · SARISBVRIENSIS ·

The subject is,—*the Good Shepherd carrying a Lamb on His Shoulders,* standing under a triangular pediment supported by two fluted columns. The field is covered with a trefoiled tracery.

Beneath the plynth is the inscription, PERIIT ET INVENTA EST (*It was lost and is found*).

Below, is an escutcheon, charged with the following arms:—(Or,) on a Chevron (azure), between three Gillyflowers (gules stalked and leaved vert), a Maidenhead coupé (of the field) ducally crowned (of the third): on a Chief (sable), a Hawk's Lure double-stringed (argent), between two Falcons (argent beaked and legged or).—The colours are not engraved on the Seal, but have been supplied by the Editor of this Volume from the Visitation of Devonshire, 1620 (MSS. Brit. Mus. Harl. 1080, f. 411, b.)

The Visitation of 1564 (MSS. Harl., 3288, f. 97, b), contemporaneous with Bishop Jewel, gives the arms of the Bishop's family somewhat differently; namely, it places *three* Maidenheads on the Chevron:—but another copy of the same Visitation (MSS. Harl., 1399, f. 89, b) gives the arms as on the Bishop's Seal.

The Pedigree of this eminent Prelate is somewhat remarkable, as exhibiting *two* Johns, and *two* Joanes, in the same family, brothers and sisters, living at the same time.

CXLIV.

FOXE TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER AND TO BISHOP GRINDAL.

ALDERSGATE-STREET, LONDON, DAY'S PRINTING-OFFICE, (1562 ?)

[Additional MSS. British Museum, 19,400, No. L. Latin Original, printed in Parker's Correspondence, p. 160, Parker Society, Cambridge, 1853.]

Translation.

REVEREND Fathers in Christ: health. I have lately found, in the Register of the Church of London, that the remarkable Disputation of D. Cranmer, D. Ridley, and D. Latimer, with the Oxford Divines, was exhibited under the Seal of the University, by Hugh Weston and other Doctors of Law, in the House of Convocation which was held the first year of Mary under Bishop Bonner. Under the same Seal were contained certain other Writings, probably not unworthy of being known, if by any means they could be obtained. I have hitherto bestowed much diligence in tracing them out, but to no purpose; I therefore need your authority. D. Jucent, whom I have lately applied to on this subject, answers, that the Acts of that Disputation are either in the hands of Bonner, or in the keeping of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; he moreover denies that he himself has them. This is all that I can make out in this business. For the rest, your Grace,[k] will do as you see fit, either by following up the suggestion which I have given, or by rather dismissing it from your mind. My own opinion is, that I think there is nothing in which your Reverend Highness can pay a better tribute to their memory, or more liberally gratify public desire, or more fully satisfy the wish of good men, than if, by your care and authority, these Disputations and Acts of those learned Bishops should at length be brought out of their hiding-places and be preserved[l] for posterity. I pray that your excellent

[k] "Sublimitas."

[l] The identical copy of the Disputation here referred to, is now preserved in the British Museum, MSS. Harleian, 3642.

Reverences may long flourish happily in Christ. From my Typographical Bakehouse, with the greatest respect for your Highness, in Christ,

JOH' FOXE.

To the Reverend D. Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, and D. Edmund Bishop of London.

CXLV.

BISHOP JEWEL TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.[a]

SALISBURY, *January* 30, 1565.

[Original, Additional MSS., British Museum, 19,400, No. XIV.]

* *Now first published.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,—After my humble commendations, I doubt not but the Answer unto M. Harding's Book is greedily looked for, both of many others and also of your Honour; and so much the more for the good-will and zeal your Honour beareth unto the cause. Howbeit both the whole route of the adversaries, and also a great number of the unlearned friends, think the matter so sure of the other side, that it is not possible to make any answer. And therefore it is thought that I of my part was much overseen to lay out the matter in such a generality, and to give the adversary so great a scope. Howbeit, touching the possibility hereof, I need not greatly to stand in fear, as having well and particularly considered the whole case before I first began to speak, and as now having good cause a great deal the more to be persuaded by the joyly[b] vaunts and great wants that may soon be found in M. Harding's travail. My slow dealing herein, I trust, offendeth not the wise. The Answer will be larger than I would, and

[a] A letter on the same subject (but not identical in matter), addressed to Sir William Cecil, and of the same date, preserved in the State Paper Office, is printed in Jewel's Works, IV., 1262, Park. Soc. edit., Lond., 1850.

[b] Sic.

therefore requireth the more leisure. And so, I trust, your Honour thinketh it better, than with haste and expedition to betray the cause. Thus much I thought it my duty to give your Honour to understand, as knowing your Honour's favourable inclination, and special care in this behalf. Thus I humbly take my leave, wishing unto your Honour the increase of grace, and the direction of God's Holy Spirit. From my poor house in Sarum. 30 Januarii, 1564 [1565].

Your Honour's humbly to command,

IO. SARUM.

To the Right Honourable Lord, my very good Lord the Earl of Leicester, one of the Queen's Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, yeve [give] these.

Apparently endorsed by Strype—"30 January, 1564. The Bp. of Sa'."

CXLVI.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

LUDHAM? probably *July*, 1567.[c]

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 75, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

MY duty in humble wise remembered.—These are to render thanks unto your good Grace, that it hath pleased you to have so fatherly a care over the state of this Diocese, as to appoint such grave and learned persons to visit the same for the reformation of such things as are amiss. I have, as my duty is, received

[c] A letter on the same subject appears in f. 74, verso, dated 27 July, 1567. It is addressed to the Commissioners for Norfolk and Suffolk, Dr. Yale, Dr. Drury, and Dr. Godwin.

them, and my trust is there shall not appear unto them so many disorders as unto your Grace hath been reported, and yet such as shall be found I may in part excuse me of, for that I can visit but once in vjj years (as the custom hath been), but I see no reason thereto; and being now almost vij years since I did last visit, with an unexpert Chancellor, since which time committing the order and reformation of such causes unto my late Chancellor, D. Gascon,[d] and my other officers, they have not in all parts so trustily behaved themselves as my desire and the duties required; which as your Grace can in some part witness with me, so my trust is you will consider thereof accordingly.

I signified to your G. a year past of one Leonard Elson, a school-master of Worsted, (procured thither by D. Gascon,) who, having written a fond work against the state of true religion now used, and sending the same to a friend of his, I chanced in the way to light upon that book; which as I thought at that time not meet to trouble your G. withal, being in every part unworthy the reading; so now, hearing him to be apprehended, and in the Gate-house at Westminster, I think it not amiss, together with these letters to send the same unto your G., that, having sufficiently wherewith to charge him, he may receive that to him belongeth, and others by his example warned to offend in the like.

Your . . . .

JOHN NORWIC'.

To my L. of Canterbury.

[d] Edward Gascoign, LL.D.

CXLVII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO RODOLPH GUALTER.[e]

LUDHAM, *March* 4, 1568.[f].

[Latin: cotemporary copy by Parkhurst's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 7, recto.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

I WROTE to you and to Master Bullinger[g] on the 31st of July, [1567]. I was unable, as I am now, to write to others, on account of my occupations. I will make amends for this silence, at another time, by writing more frequently. In the mean while, beg them in my name not to take it amiss.

On the 29th of July, [1567,] the little Prince[h] was crowned King of Scotland, with great pomp, and with universal joy. That mariticide[i] Queen has been stripped of all her honours, especially as regards the kingdom, and is imprisoned,[k] but with [some allowance of] freedom,[l] as I hear. That most distinguished and excellent man, James, Earl of Murray, is made

[e] Rodolph Gualter was born at Zurich, 1519. He visited England in 1537, when a youth of eighteen, in company with Nicholas Partridge, of Lenham, in Kent, and William Woodroofe, on their return from Zurich, January 24, 1537. We find him at Oxford, March 11 of that year. His MSS. Journal of this visit is preserved at Zurich:—see Hess's Analysis and Catalogue, Vol. I., p. xxxi., in possession of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford. He was chosen minister of St. Peter's, Zurich, in 1541. He succeeded Bullinger, as chief pastor of Zurich, in September, 1575. He married Rachael, (whom in his letters he calls Zuinglia,) the daughter of Zuingle. He died in 1586. He was author of Commentaries on various Books of Scripture, and of other valuable works.

[f] *Not* 1568-9. Bishop Parkhurst, when writing to his foreign friends, usually adopted, as they did, the New Style, beginning the year on the 1st of January, not on the 21st of March.

[g] The letter to Bullinger is printed in Zurich Letters, p. 294, second edition, 1846.—Epist. Tigur. ii., p. 115. That to Gualter is not preserved.

[h] James VI.

[i] Alluding to the murder of Darnley, Feb. 10, 1567.

[k] In the Castle of Lochlevin.

[l] The MS. is incorrect—"sed libero."

Regent,[m] and appointed Protector, and Governor, not only of the King, but of the whole kingdom, by general consent.

On the 31st of August I was attacked by a tertian fever, which did not leave me till the end of three weeks. About the end of September my hand swelled for five or six days.

About the beginning of November, a certain youth, under the influence of great zeal for God, entered the Queen's Chapel, and threw down on the ground with great force the Golden Cross, together with the images connected with it; then, stamping on it with his feet, he broke it in pieces, in the sight of all who were assembled for Common Prayer; for it was done publicly. From that time no Cross has been seen there; it was abolished, and it will for ever be abolished as a mischievous thing.[n]

I remained with my family the whole of this winter in Norwich, not without considerable expense. I have lately returned to Ludham.

Some law-students of distinguished families (*nobiles*) were lately detected attending Mass in London, and were immediately sent to prison. Flesh, fish, corn, and provisions of all kinds, are exceedingly cheap here; contrary to all expectation, for almost everybody had been apprehending the greatest scarcity. I feel persuaded, and have persuaded others, that this wonderful blessing has come to us from the Lord, on account of Christ's pious exiles.

Our Queen issued her commands to certain of her Council, that they should search out and eject Papists from her Court; this was done, to the great delight of the pious. By her order, also, the Archbishop of Canterbury has expelled some from his palace. Report flies about, that some Doctors of Laws in the Arches, London, were examined, and that some of them demurred to subscribe to the Queen's supremacy (*auctoritati*); I do not yet know what will be the result of this affair. Dr. Wotton, one of the Council, Dean of Canterbury and York, died last season;[o] he was brother of Sir [Edward?] Wotton,

[m] "Patronus Regis."

[n] "Abiit, et abitura est in perpetuum in malam Crucem."

[o] Nicholas Wotton, LL.D., died January 26, 1567. He was Master of the Faculties. He was the first Dean of Canterbury, 1542. He was also made Dean of York in 1544. He was also Archdeacon of Gloucester in 1540, before its separation from Worcester; and Prebendary of Salisbury. Archbishop Parker, in a letter to Sir W. Cecil, Aug. 12, 1567, charges him with covetous-

Baronet, the friend of Nicholas Partridge, whom, if I mistake not, you knew in Kent.

The most beautiful roses bloomed in my garden last December. The Lady Catharine Gray, sister of Jane who was beheaded by Mary, died at the end of January in my Suffolk. Trees, barns, and several mills which stood on high ground, were overthrown and destroyed by a furious westerly gale on the 14th of February. Thomas Harding, an Englishman, a very sincere preacher in King Edward's time, afterwards a standard-bearer of the Papists, and now living at Louvaine, has written a most virulent book[p] against the Apology of the Church of England; which my Jewel,[q] the author and writer of that Apology, has answered[r] most learnedly, and with universal admiration. It is certain that the Queen has thanked Jewel[q] for his labours, and has carefully read his book.

It gives me pleasure to hear that your son Rodolph is making such good progress in literature. When you shall see fit to send him into England, I will support him at the University at my own expense, as if he were my own son. If so many ministers have flocked together in Constance, to consult on the decrees of the Trentine Conventicle, and if, perchance, they should add their vote to theirs [at Trent], they will assuredly have had—not so much a consultation, as—a constultation.[s] Let us pray to Jesus, that He would utterly extirpate the foul offscouring of the Jesuits, those most malicious enemies of the Lord Jesus; for "this kind" of evil-spirits (*dæmoniorum*) "goeth not forth except by prayer." You mention five crowns which I sent to your Society; but I sent two more for fuel (*foco*); I shall be surprised if they have vanished, instead of coming into your hands. Certainly I could not venture, and I ought not, to

ness. "As for dividends of plate and copes, beforetimes, Dr. Wotton had his dividend as large as any other had. . . . . Mr. Thomas Wotton may be asked. There was not left in the Church at my coming the tenth penny of the plate and ornaments which were left there at Mr. Dr. Wotton's coming thither. I would it were indifferently credited to understand, whether the married sort or the virginal pastors had done most spoil in the Church: though fault have been in both." (Parker's Correspondence, p. 304, edit. Park. Soc., 1853.)

[p] "Confvtation of a Booke intituled, An Apology, &c.," 1565.

[q] "Iuellus."

[r] "Defence of the Apology, &c.," 1567.

[s] "Non tam consultaverint, quàm constultaverint."

accuse Abel to whom I entrusted them; for a good man is not wont to violate his faith; it is possible that he was overtaken by forgetfulness. However that may be, I am unwilling that the money should be wasted.

My wife salutes you all. In great haste.

Ludham, March 4, 1568.

Salute in my name all the learned, the noble and the plebeian citizens, especially our neighbours. Farewell, sweetest Gualter, with all yours.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST, [Bishop] of Norwich.

CXLVIII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO BULLINGER.

LUDHAM, *March* 4, 1568.

[Latin: MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2, 34, f. 8, recto; copy by the Bishop's Secretary.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

OUR [friend] Gualter writes, that you had sent me a letter; but I have seen none. I have written to Gualter on the public English news, and on my private affairs: he will inform you on all these matters.

The state of affairs in Scotland, is as follows. The celebrated Assembly, commonly called Parliament, was not long since held in that kingdom; in which religious and very Christian Statutes were passed. I will not enumerate them all, but will give you merely a taste of some.[t]

1. The authority of the Pope is altogether abolished. As some one very facetiously interpreted these three Capital Letters in the Church of St. Peter at Rome—

P. N. V.

Papa. Nihil. Valet.

[*Pope. No. Value.*]

[t] See Zurich Letters, p. 311, 2d edit., 1846; where these enactments are set forth rather more fully, in a letter from Grindall to Bullinger, Aug. 29, 1567.

Such is very much the case, at this time, in Scotland.

2. Mass is abolished, and punishments are announced for both hearers and spectators.

3. The jurisdiction of the true Church is confirmed.

4. The Sacraments are administered, in no other way than as now instituted by the Word of God.

5. Whosoever shall now or hereafter be invested with chief authority in Scotland, shall be bound by a solemn oath that they will defend and promote God's pure religion with all their might.

6. None hereafter shall be admitted to administer any public office in the State, except they shall have first professed Evangelical doctrine.

7. On the method of bringing up youth in true religion.

8. On the punishment of fornicators and adulterers.

9. On the punishment of those who commit incest.

I will not increase the length of my letter by adding anything more. I hope you have received the letter I wrote you on the 31st of July.[u] Salute all my friends, in my name. Farewell, excellent Bullinger, with all yours. In very great haste.

Ludham, March 4, 1568.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST.

CXLIX.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO DR. SALISBURY, DEAN OF NORWICH.[v]

LUDHAM, *December* 1, 1569.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2, 34, f. 53, recto.]

Now first published.

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.—I have heard (to my great grief) of the

[u] Printed in Zurich Letters, p. 294, 2d edit. 1846.

[v] John Salisbury, suffragan Bishop of Thetford, was made Dean of Norwich in 1539; but was deprived 1st March, 1554. He was restored in 1560; and in 1571 he was made Bishop of the Isle of Man, but held the Deanery of Norwich, in commendam, to his death, September, 1573.

Sermon you made in Norwich on Sunday last. I have credible understanding that the same was uttered with such malice and want of discretion, as it tended both to sedition, and an utter defacing of the ministry and the truth of religion now established. And, because (as I heard) you promised there to go forth with that Psalm which you have so unadvisedly begun, I have thought it my duty (for fear of such danger as by the same you may procure,) straightly to require and charge you that from henceforth you neither preach or otherwise expound any Scripture, until you have answered your former doings, either before me, or where ye shall be otherwise orderly called. And so I bid you heartily farewell.

At Ludham, this first of December, 1569.

Your friend assured in Christ,

JOHN NORWIC.

To my Lord Dean of Norwich.

CL.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

LUDHAM, *November* 15, 1571.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2, 34, f. 63, verso.]

* *Now first published.*

MY duty unto your Grace humbly remembered. I have received two letters from your Grace lately. The one touching your Order for the Strangers; wherein, because I am not able to travail myself, being grievously troubled with a disease in my leg, I have therefore committed the Order thereof to Mr. Mayor, and my Chauncellor:[w] what they shall do therein you shall be advertised shortly.

Touching your other letter, I do send unto you a note[x] of the

[w] Probably William Mayster, LL.D.

[x] Strype, (Parker, II. pp. 85, 86,) gives the substance of this Examination; but not Bishop Parkhurst's letter *in extenso*.

Examination and Answer of Thomas Atkinson, taken by myself, and certified to Dyale with mine own hand. There is farther matter declared unto me of him, which also I have added in the Schedule herein enclosed. The benefice that he hath already, is valued at xix *li.* odd money, and is counted worth xl *li.* by the year: he hath let it out to a serving man, and he is become a servant to the same for xx^tij^ marks by year. This other benefice that he would now have, is valued at vij *li.*, and is worth xx *li.* by year. If there were nothing else but that he is well known to be an enemy in religion, together with the stout bragg that he maketh to recover it, whether I will or not, (wherein I would be very loth to take a foil,) surely methinks it were sufficient matter to discharge him: and, if I may have your gratification, I am determined to put him in hazard of them both; Wherein I have used some advice:—for this is certain; his stomach riseth not of himself only, which [[y] never the] less is full of Northern blood, but of others that set him on, and the same no small ones as I am persuauded.

Almighty God preserve you in long and happy life, to His pleasure.

At my poor house at Ludham, this xvth of November, 1571.

JOHN NORWICH.

Thomas Atkinson, Parson of Forneham All-Saints,[z] was presented also to the benefice of Forneham Genefefa[zz] by Mr. Kitson; whom because I rejected for good considerations, a *Double Quarrel* was served on me.

[y] A blank is left by the Secretary in the MS.

[z] Thomas Atkinson was instituted to the Rectory of Fornham All-Saints, Dec. 22, 1567, on the presentation of Thomas Kytson, Esq., of Hengrave. It does not appear from the Registers when he vacated it; but it was probably i 1597, when Francis Slack was instituted to the Rectory, "jam legitimè vacantem."

[zz] Atkinson's Institution to Fornham St. Geneviève is not to be found in the Diocesan Registers. And yet a "MS. of Bishop Tanner" (at Norwich?) names a Thomas Atkinson as Rector of Fornham St. Geneviève in 1583, and 1593; and the Institution Registers state the "libera et spontanea resignatio Thomæ Atkinson clerici ultimi Rectoris et Incumbentis ibidem," as having taken place on the 4th October, 1596, when another clerk was admitted on the presentation of Sir Thomas Kytson, Knt.

Short Notes of the great learning of Thomas Atkinson examined by me.

I. I asked him whether he understood the Latin Tongue?

1. He answered. Yea.

II. What is your name?

2. Thomas.

III. Decline it.

3. He could not.

IV. What are the contents of the 3d Chapter of St. Matthew?

4. He could answer nothing.

V. What is faith?

5. He could not tell.

VI. How many Chapters doth St. Paul write to the Romans?

6. He could not tell.

VII. What is contained in that Epistle?

7. He could say nothing.

VIII. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians?

8. He said, there were but xiij. Chapters.

IX. In the second Epistle?

9. He said, there were xxvj. Chapters.

X. I asked him, whether there were a Purgatory after this life?

10. He said, it was for higher-learned men than he was to answer that question.

I perceived that he was such an ignorant ass, I was weary to talk with him any more.

He came to me within a few days after, and desired me to be good unto him. I told him I could not of conscience, seeing he knew nothing of the Scriptures. He answered me, that every man could not be a text man.

The Queen's Injunctions willeth all ministers to have the New Testament in Latin and in English, with Paraphrases upon the same, conferring the one with the other; and willeth also Bishops and other Ordinaries to examine how they profit in the study of Holy Scriptures. How this good fellow hath profited may appear by the short notes before. It is great pity but he should have two benefices.

Since the time of this Examination, I have inquired further of the honesty of life and good conversation of the said Atkinson. I do understand, by report of good credit, that his time is spent in bowling, dicing, carding, and such like games of wickedness; besides that, upon the Sundays and Holidays, after Evening Prayer, he is the best companion at Baste Barley, Brick, and such like, with the maids and youths of his parish.

He was made priest in Queen Mary's days, by Dr. Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle. He came out of the country without testimonial.

He served sometime at Sparham, near Norwich, under one Dixon, a wicked Papist. He would not board in the town, but in a Papist's house, and there used bowling commonly.

This Atkinson, coming to me of late, with other of the clergy to subscribe to the Articles of conformity in religion, after his company had subscribed he looked on me, and scornfully said,—"You will give me leave to subscribe, I am sure;" whom I willed to subscribe (*pro me*) as the other had done; but he, fearing that he could not write congrue [*sic*, in MS.] Latin, wrote his name in English. And I understand that, being required, before Mr. D. Wattes at London, to decline his name Thomas, he failed in the doing thereof. He is reported to be an earnest Papist in the whole country. If he were otherwise, Mr. Kitson would never present him; or if he were married, or did intend to marry, for that is as evil as deadly poison to the adversaries of the truth.

Lastly: when he should departe, he turned himself back again, looking at me with a stout countenance, and said, "I doubt not the law shall try this matter;" and so he departed.

CLI.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO THE LORD KEEPER.

LUDHAM, *February* 1, 1572.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2, 34, f. 75, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

My duty most humbly remembered.—One Sir William Locker, Parson of Thelveton; made Priest in the time of Popery, hath not appeared before me, nor subscribed to these Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Bishops and the Convocation, according to the Statute made in the last Parliament, and therefore he is to be deprived of all his spiritual promotions *ipso facto*, as your Honour knoweth right well.

The bearer hereof, John Morland, clerk, is a suitor to your Honour for the same benefice. He is an honest and sober young man, and competently seen in the Latin tongue. And if it seem good to your Honour, I think him not unmeet for the same benefice.

Almighty God preserve your Honour in long and happy life, with increase of honour. At my poor house at Ludham, this first of February, 1571 [1571—2].

Your Honour's most bounden,

JOHN NORWIC.

To My L. Keeper.

CLII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

LUDHAM, *March* 9, 1572.

[Latin: MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2, 24, f. 8, verso; copy by the Bishop's Secretary.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

I HAVE received four letters from you; namely, on the 19th of August [1571], with two Epigrams on the Bulls of the impious Pius [V.], the Roman Executioner; also, on the 23d of August; also, on the 6th of December, by your son; I received the last on the 9th of February, [1572], inclosing a letter to your son, which I took care should be delivered to him within three or four days.

Your Rolph and Rolph Zuingle[a] came to me on the 6th of December last. After mutual salutations and congratulations, I was wonderfully struck with the stature of your Rodolph. To the latter I said; "When I was at Zurich, you were scarcely a Pigmy; and have you been able in so short a time to become a Polyphemus?" I have no leisure now to repeat all our conversation.[b] The day after their arrival, oysters were set before us, before dinner. While I, and my wife, and others, fell to eating, they stared! At last, your Rodolph, not without joking from us and himself, bravely began to attack them; and, when he had opened one or two with considerable difficulty, he devoured them merrily. But Zuingle could not summon up courage to enter on a conflict with these living animalculæ: the next day, [however,] having unsheathed his weapon, he acquitted himself like a man. On the 12th of December, your Rodolph, Zuingle,

[a] Rolph Zuingle was Bullinger's grandson. See Zurich Letters, pp. 385, 393, note, 2d edit., 1846. He died in London at the house of the Bishop of Ely, June 4, 1572. Ibid., p. 400.

[b] The story which follows, (with one or two *verbatim* extracts from this letter,) and Parkhurst's pledge to provide for young Rodolph's University expenses, is given by Strype, Annals, II., i. 336, 337, 508.

and Butler,[c] rode together to London, that they might deliver the letters written by you and by Bullinger to your friends. Zuingle, wandering, and strolling about the streets, while the others were gone out, and not knowing where he was, nearly lost himself; but at length came to the house of the Earl of Bedford. My Lord Edwyn[d] Sandys, [Bishop] of London, treated them kindly, and promised that five pounds should be given to each of them before their arrival in Cambridge; of which he gave part himself, and collected the remainder from some benevolent citizens. On the 28th of the same month, they returned to me at Ludham. On the 9th of January, [1572], I sent off to Cambridge, your Rodolph, Zuingle, Butler, and Paul à Bunck-hoffem, also a Swiss (one of my servants as their companion); from all of whom I received letters soon afterwards. I doubt not that they have informed you how they are getting on there; for I strictly charged them to do so, when they left me. You write,—that in your letters to your son, you have enjoined him not to ask for any thing from any one except myself: I have given him the same injunction. But, when you pledge your faith to me that you will satisfy me, my mind resents this unkind declaration, and I can scarcely digest this displeasing annoyance. Can I, then, accept [a return] from you or Haller? Do you not think that you satisfied me at Zurich? Do you consider me as having cast off all generous feeling? O my Gualter! let me never again hear any such thing from you! He shall live in England at no expense to you; he shall be no burden to you. I will maintain him here; and liberally too. He shall be taken care of as if he were actually my own son. I have repeatedly promised you this by letter; and, God willing, my Gualter, I will certainly perform my engagement.[e]

[c] Henry Butler, "a learned and pious youth," born abroad of a Swiss mother, but nephew of John Butler, of Chilton, in Suffolk. See Zurich Letters, pp. 345, 363, 391 note, 397.

[d] "Edmundus," by error in the MS.—See Sandys's Letter to Bullinger, Feb. 17, 1572, Zurich Letters, p. 393. The Bishop says he gave this money, at some inconvenience, "out of his own purse," which was substantially true, (though part of it was afterwards collected by subscriptions,) for he pledged himself for the whole.

[e] In Dr. Maitland's "Essays on the Reformation" (p. 43, note), a very uncandid attempt is made to prove that Bishop Parkhurst claimed the merit of a generosity which in fact belonged to *others*. This imputation rests on Mr. Maitland's hasty inferences from a cotemporary Account-book, kept by the

After I had returned home, on the rising of Parliament, I heard that Master Montius,[f] of Strasburgh, was in London,

Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. It seems that, while rummaging among the papers in the MS. room at Lambeth Palace, "in clearing out a closet," Mr. M. "found a parcel which had been tied up before" he "was born, and probably never opened since".....He found, among many insignificant papers within, "the Autograph Account-book kept by Archbishop Whitgift, when he was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Among the pupils, whose accounts were kept by the Master in this book, was this 'young Rodolph,' and it seems to render the statement in Strype" [namely, of Parkhurst's liberality in providing for Rodolph's expenses] "*somewhat doubtful*," in Mr. Maitland's uncharitable judgment; for "it is curious that, while the Master acknowledges and accounts for monies received for the young foreigner's support from 'My L. of London' [Sandys] and 'My L. of York' [Grindall], there is no reference of any kind to my Lord of Norwich." Mr. Maitland gave publicity to these sly surmises in the "British Magazine," for October, 1847, and some subsequent numbers; and he reprinted the substance in his "Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation in England;" not there repeating, however, what he had "said in the Magazine for February, 1848 (vol. xxxiii. 192);" the reason for which forbearance he does not name. This imputation is repeated, on Dr. Maitland's authority, by Mr. Dyer, in his Life of Calvin, p. 421, note, London, 1850. The letter printed in the text, above; another dated June 30, 1573 (below, p. 472); and several others, show how utterly groundless is this aspersion on the pious Bishop of Norwich. He claims no merit, and makes no personal promise, beyond that of pledging his *responsibility* for young Gualter's College expenses, which were doubtless shared by several persons who had received kindness from the elder Gualter, and others, at Zurich, while exiles there in Mary's reign. So far from wishing to conceal the fact, that others contributed to this labour of love, Parkhurst mentions, in this letter, that Bishop Sandys had given the young Cantab *five pounds* (a considerable sum in that day) to start him off well at college. And, when he had removed to Magdalen College, Oxford, Parkhurst assured his friend that his somewhat spendthrift son should be still maintained without cost to his father; and so far from keeping back the fact that the expenses had *not* fallen entirely on *himself*, he said—"I will provide for his wants, *even though other Bishops should contribute nothing*." Letter from Parkhurst to Gualter, June 30, 1573, below, p. 472. In fact, this pretendedly-condemnatory "account-book" of Whitgift cannot refer to any period longer than from January, 1572 (when young Gualter went to Cambridge), to Easter, 1573, when he removed to Oxford —that is, only one year and a quarter: within that period, Parkhurst had been seriously impoverished by the roguery of Thymelthorpe, his agent, so that it is very probable that "Sandys" and "Grindall" relieved Parkhurst, for a time, from his pledge of paying the youth's college bills. And yet we find this pious Bishop giving him five pounds to start him at Cambridge (January 9, 1572), and redeeming notes of hand to the amount of five pounds ten shillings, drawn by the extravagant young man on the merchant Hilles (April 28, 1573), and promising ten angels more on the 6th of July for his use at Oxford.

[f] Dr. Christopher Mount was Queen Elizabeth's agent at Strasburgh. He

and frequently at the Queen's Court; but I never could assure myself of the fact. I wonder he did not feel disposed to come to me. I knew him, and he me; and I was more than once at his house at Strasburgh. I would gladly have entertained him; and that not once only. He scarcely acted the part of a friend.

The plague raged at Oxford all last summer. The Colleges were deserted, and almost everybody ran into the country; so that the townsmen were greatly oppressed with poverty. This plague began before Easter; nor did its ravages cease before the month of October.

On the 23d of September, my Jewel,[g] my treasure—aye [the treasure] of all England, died. Laurence Humphrey, President of Magdalen College, has been ordered to draw up an account of his life and death. He has addressed two letters to me, begging and intreating me to communicate to him what I knew of him, since he was formerly my pupil, and was my most intimate acquaintance. To gratify my friend, and to pay a just debt to the memory of my dearest Jewel, I have noted down many recollections, but not all, and shall send them to Oxford within a day or two. I can relate more of Jewel than any one else in England could do.

Your Rodolph is in great favour with every body. Salute your wife, and your daughters, and all your friends, in my name. In very great haste. Ludham, March 9, 1572. My wife salutes you all.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST, [Bishop] of Norwich.

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died in the summer of 1572. He was "a man," says Lord Burleigh (writing to J. Sturmius, whom the Queen appointed his successor, Sept. 15, 1572), "who, by reason of his extreme diligence and fidelity in watching over the interests of this kingdom, was most highly esteemed by Her Majesty, and by every one of us." See Zurich Letters, p. 412. Many of his letters exist in the State Paper Office. See a letter from him to Bullinger, Dec. 27, 1568, in Zurich Letters, p. 319.

[g] "Juellus."

CLIII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

LUDHAM, *March* 10, 1572.[h]

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. University Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 10, recto.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

You write, that you have transmitted to me certain ancient Writings, discovered by you. I have neither received, nor even seen them, up to this moment.

I have heard nothing at all about James Andreas,[i] but I am well acquainted with the parts and arts[k] both of him and of all Lutherans. As it was formerly, so it is now.[l] Let them rage, let them storm, let them roar! Truth will conquer, and their Ubiquity will be found nowhere but in Utopia.

You will learn all our news from your father-in-law. Farewell, sweetest Simler. Salute Magdalene your wife, and all friends. My wife salutes you all. In very great haste. Ludham, March 10, 1572.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST, [Bishop] of Norwich.

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[h] There are letters of the same date from Parkhurst to Bullinger (Zurich Letters, 1st series, p. 266), and to Wolfius (2d series, p. 199).

[i] James Andreas was Divinity Professor at Tubingen, and the principal advocate of Ubiquitarian doctrine in Germany. See Soames's edition of Mosheim, iii. 362, for an account of the New Confession of Lutheran faith, called the Form of Concord, put forth by him and other divines in 1569, by command of the Duke of Wirtemberg and Brunswick.

[k] "Genium et ingenium."

[l] "Antiquum obtinet."

CLIV.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.[m]

LUDHAM, *October* 19, 1572.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 90, verso.]

* *Now first published.*

MY duty unto your Grace remembered.—I received your letters of the ixth of October,[n] the xiijth of the same month, at night; and because Mr. Cotton is a man of no great acquaintance in these parts, I was forced to make secret inquiry of his abiding place; and, the xvjth day of this month, understanding where the said Cotton remained, I took my journey, together with Mr. Drue Druerye, who courteously offered to bear me company. We found the said Mr. Cotton very sick of a tertian ague, in the house of one Francis Downes, gent., of East Tuddenham, who is of like evil disposition touching religion. Mr. Cotton lay in a little chamber, without any other rooms belonging to him. I do send your Grace an inventory of such books and weapons as I found in his chamber, together with the recognizance which I took for his appearance. He was himself not able to travel; otherwise I would have brought him away with me, and so have conveyed him to your Grace. His host Downes is now in London, and therefore sureties could he find none, for he hath not been in that quarter past one year, scantily known, because in all that time he hath not come to the Church: so was I forced to take his own bond, having of his own about xij^{li} land by the year in Kent. He confesseth himself to be a Papist, and saith he is not ashamed thereof. For anything I can perceive, he is a fit instrument to take any enterprise in hand, having nothing to take to, nor to take care for, but himself, his wife,

[m] There is a brief notice of this letter in Parker's published Letters, by the Parker Society, p. 401, note.

[n] See the letter, in Parker's Letters, p. 401.

and a servant. I have thought good to defer the sending up of his books, until I come up myself, being of no great importance, saving the book of the Prophecies, which is most to be misliked, which your grace shall receive, God willing, at my coming up, for I dare not trust any other messenger therewith. And so most humbly take my leave. At Ludham, this xixth of October, 1572.

Your Grace's most bounden,

JOHN NORWIC.

To Archbishop Parker.

CLV.

THE EARL OF LEICESTER TO BISHOP PARKHURST.

LONDON, *November* 14, 1572.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 95, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

AFTER my hearty commendations to your L.—The Queen's Majesty understanding that you have deprived Doctor Willoughbie of certain Livings which he had within your L. rule, is much offended with you for the same; the man being one that was Physician to Her Highness' Mother, and now of the age almost of a hundred years. For which respects Her Majesty hath commanded me to signify unto you, that Her pleasure is, that the Doctor be either restored to such Livings, as by your L. means he hath hardly left, or else that by your answer you will shew some reasonable cause why it should be otherwise; wherein it shall surely stand your Lordship greatly upon, so to deal as may be answerable to equity, and Her Highness' expectation, whom I find (I tell your Lordship truly) greatly to tender the poor man's case. And so, not doubting but your L. will consider hereof accordingly, I leave you to God's direction. At London, the xiijj of November, 1572.

Your loving friend,

R. LEICESTER.

CLVI.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

LUDHAM, *December* 2, 1572.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 95, verso.]

* *Now first published.*

MY duty unto your Honour humbly remembered.—I have received your honourable letters, which, by reason of this hard and dangerous weather here, I could not make answer unto so soon as I desired.

It appeareth that the Queen's Majesty is much offended with me, that D. Willoughbie is deprived of certain Livings within my diocese; and that Her Majesty is moved thereunto, as well for that he was a Physician to Her Highness' Mother, as for the respect of his age. For answer whereof, it may like your Honour to understand, that the said Doctor Willoughby was not deprived by me, but by Act of the last Parliament he was *ipso facto* deprived, for not subscribing to the Articles of Religion mentioned in the said Act, neither read the same accordingly. And, understanding that Her Majesty had given away one of his said Livings, called Aldborough, to one Mr. Morton, Bachelor of Divinity, by virtue of the said Act, I was the bolder to bestow the other, falling in my lapse, upon an honest learned preacher, with whom notwithstanding I have taken order that the old Doctor shall be truly answered of such stipend yearly as he hath hitherto enjoyed; so as his [*sic*] is not hindered by such deprivation, and yet there is good cause to think well, that two so good cures should now have so meet incumbents. If I had understood the said Doctor to have been Physician to Her Majesty's Mother, and in such favour, I would have given knowledge of the danger he was in, that the same might have been foreseen. But, thinking him to have had sufficient living by practising of physic, and his other Livings, I was the bolder to bestow the other as aforesaid. Wherein I trust Her Highness

will not be offended; not doubting but that your Honour, upon this answer, will signify the truth to Her Highness, and so procure Her Majesty's good will towards me, that would not willingly deserve the contrary for all the world. So shall I be most bounden (as beforetime) to pray for the prosperous estate of your Honour long to continue. From my poor house at Ludham, this 2d of December, 1572.

Your Honour's most bounden,

JOHN NORWIC.

To my L. of Leicester.

CLVII.

BISHOP COX TO THE CHURCHWARDENS OF * * * *, FOR THE REMOVAL OF A ROOD-LOFT AND A SUPERSTITIOUS DOME IN A PARISH CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF ELY.

SOMERSHAM, *December* 16, 1572.

[MSS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, N°. 168 (not paged), containing "fragments of that excellent man Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely," which "Roger Cox, son to the Bishop, gave to me, I. Jegon."]

* *Now first published.*

I COMMEND me unto you. Whereas I am credibly and orderly informed that the Roodlofte hath remained undefaced ever since the beginning of Reformation made in this Church of England by the Queen's Majesty's authority, and also your superstitious Dome yet also remaineth, a pestiferous example to others, and an argument of your disobedience and unwillingness towards the godly proceedings hitherto set forth in our Church, this shall be to will and require you, and in the Queen's Majesty's name to charge you, that, immediately upon the sight hereof, ye cause both your Roodloft and your fond Dome to be taken down and utterly defaced, before Christmas Even next ensuing, and to certify me of your doings in this behalf, and also likewise to certify me of all such as have notoriously been hinderers and letters that this matter hath not hitherto been reformed.

Fail ye not this to do before Christmas next, as ye will answer for not doing thereof at your peril. Let your certificates both be subscribed by the hands of the Churchwardens, and by the hands of iiij honest men of the parish besides.

From my house at Somersham, the xvjth day of December, 1572.

[RICHARD ELY.]

[*To the Churchwardens of* * * * *.]

CLVIII.

DR. WILSON[o] TO BISHOP PARKHURST.

January 2, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge. Ee. 2. 34, f. 100 verso.]

* *Now first published.*

My very good Lord. I do thank you for your New Year's [gift],[p] that I trust will continue and be known when you and I are gone. I have read, as my leisure might serve, the most of your Epigrams, and do give God thanks for them. I do like them as well, for either [*sic*] are grave, or merry, with good discretion. Your allusions in things made Latin that have their grace in the English tongue, will not be understood of strangers [foreigners] who may read them, and will allow such [*sic*] as by their judgments and knowledge they may arreach to the understanding of them. I do like them, and you, and will dispose of

[o] Dr. Wilson was an Ecclesiastical Commissioner and a Privy Councillor. He was a College friend of Jewel. It is related that Jewel and Wilson having been on a visit to Parkhurst (his Patron, and Tutor at Merton College,) at his Rectory of Cleve, near Cheltenham, on their departure Parkhurst said, "Have *these beggarly Oxford* students got any money, I wonder;" and then liberally supplied their nearly empty purses. A letter addressed by Bishop Jewel to Dr. Wilson, August 20, 1569, (on the perusal of Wilson's "Discourse upon Usuric," afterwards published at London, 1584,) is printed in Jewel's Works, iv. 1276, edit. Parker Society. See also, Jewel iv. p. vii., Grindal 412, 414, 417, Parker's Letters, 323, 420.

[p] Parkhurst's Epigrams: see next Letter.

them, although not of you, (because Thimelthorpe is Lord over you as yet,) because I do take that your verses be mine to do with them as I think meet. And truly I do mind to send them to the printing, before the end of this month, except you do send word to the contrary. And I doubt whether I should accept your inhibition, if perhaps you should seem (with your Lordship's reverence) somewhat peevish in your own cause, which tendeth to a common profit. The Parliament is deferred to the first of April. For news, your good and discreet servant, Wilmote, can make report, who hath been a later courtier than I am, being lame of one leg through an overthwart mishap; but I trust the worst is past. And thus, my good Lord, having desire to write longer, but wearied with mine evil leg, I do take my leave, with my hearty commendations to your good L. and to Mistress Parkhurst, your good and loving wife, wishing unto you both a good New Year. From my house, this second day of the said New Year, 1572 [1572-3].

Your L. ever most assured,

THOMAS WILSON.

CLIX.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO DR. WILSON.

LUDHAM, *January*, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Ee. 2. 34, f. 101, verso.]

* *Now first published.*

AFTER my hearty commendations, with like thanks for your gentle letters, I am very sorry that you are become *Claudus Vulcanus*. If I might hear that you might walk without a staff (*sine Scipione*), and that your leg was as well as ever it was, it would make me then as merry as I am now sorry. The Lord heal it with speed, if it be his pleasure. Amen.

I am glad that my Epigrams doth please you so well, which I

know is not for the worthiness of them, but for a certain special affection graffed in you towards me. Howsoever the matter be, your allowance doth make me allow them better than I was wont to do; for you know my nature, that I think nothing well done that I do myself. And, seeing that you do allow them, I care not though all other do disallow them; *nam tu es mihi instar omnium.* And where you do write, that my allusions in things made Latin that have their grace in the English tongue, will not be understanded of strangers; you shall understand that I wrote them not for strangers, but for my countrymen. And yet you may appoint some honest, learned man, which may make some short notes in the margent, for declaration and opening of such. I do not desire, but I do wish that you would take some pains therein at your leisure, no man can do it so well. And where you intend to put them to printing before the end of this month, that were too much haste indeed; and you know that haste makes waste. If my book were all in prose, it were no great matter: but, in an Epigram, or a verse, one word, one half word, one syllable, yea, one letter, or tittle, or point, added, or diminished, or falsely printed, marreth all the rest. I know neither the printer, nor yet the corrector, which ought to be a good versifier. It is meet that I should know them first. And, because I do not, this my letter shall be unto you a fair inhibition; which, peradventure, you will not obey, because you be a rich cobbe, and I a poor "beggarly" Bishop,—even as beggarly as ever were Juel and Wilson when they were "beggarly[q] scholars:" I thank Thimelthorpe therefore. But I trow I shall be rich shortly, for I have him even now upon the hip; I am like to overthrow him. And, because you are *Reginæ petitionibus,* I pray you do not deny my poor simple petition herein, until you send me another letter of your mind, and further determination. Then you shall know my mind thoroughly. My Lord Treasurer, Sir Walter Mildmay, my Lord Chief Baron, the Queen's Solicitor, Mr. Godfrey, with other of the Exchequer, granted out a Commission for the Queen, and somewhat for me, against George Thimelthorpe. On Saturday last, the ivth of January, the Jury brought in their verdict, that Thimelthorpe hath made all his deeds of gift fraudulently. So that I am afraid

[q] This is an allusion to the circumstance mentioned in the note to Letter CLVIII., p. 453, *suprà.*

lest I shall be rich suddenly. Well this God doth deliver his seely poor souls, (which meaneth hurt to nobody,) from the falsehood and subtle cosening of devilish men, or rather monsters of men. You would not think into what rejoicing and gladness all this country is (as I might so say) resolved, excepting a few Thimelthorpians. The Lord be praised for ever and ever. Amen. Scribbled in haste from Ludham [r] of January, 1572 [1572-3]. If you see by chance any of my fore-named friends, I pray you on my behalf give them hearty thanks. Commend me to good Mrs. Wilson, with all your babes.

Your assured, loving friend,

JOHN NORWIC.'

To Dr. Wilson.

CLX.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

LUDHAM, *January* 20, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 10, verso.]

† *Now first published.—Translation.*

ILLNESS has been the cause of my not having written to you at the last [Frankfort] fair. Had I been able to write, I should have communicated to you the following information.

Herman Modetus, a Fleming, and a learned man, (about whom I wrote to you,) delivered my letters to Peter Dathen,[s] who, as you suspected, detained them very uncourteously. On the 8th of May, [1572], a celebrated Parliament commenced [its Session] in London; at which time I delivered eight crowns to Richard Hills,[t] by the hand of your son; seven of which are

[r] The date is left blank in the MS.

[s] He was Ambassador for Frederic Count Palatine of the Rhine. See a letter to him in Parker's Correspondence, p. 471.

[t] Richard Hills was a merchant who contributed to the Exiles in Queen Mary's Reign. See many of his letters in the Zurich Letters.

for the Students' stove;[u] the eighth is for Froschover. I proposed a certain Bill in Parliament[v] against the crafty tricks and fraudulent artifices of my Collector;[w] which Bill passed by the unanimous votes of all the Bishops, Lords, and Commons. I trust that I shall shortly recover all my rights. On the 23d of May I received your letter, together with your very learned book "On the Incarnation of Christ." On the 2d of June the Duke of Norfolk was beheaded. On the 12th of June Mamoratius, the French Ambassador, came to London: on the 15th, peace between the French and us was confirmed with great pomp: on the 17th of the same month he was conducted to Windsor, accompanied by a great number of nobles, where he received the Insignia of the Garter; which Order is the highest in England, as that of St. Michael is in France: on the 28th he took his departure for France. On the 30th, Parliament having risen,[x] we all hastened homewards, tired of the City.

During the whole of this time, as on other occasions, the City of London very much impaired my bodily health. I was unable to eat flesh. Fish was more agreeable, but scarcely agreeable to me. I was very much troubled with pains in my right leg while I was in London; but, on my return home, I was dreadfully tormented. I have long been a limping Vulcan; and could scarcely hobble along even by the help of my staff.[y] For a long time I did not leave my bed-room; it was impossible, indeed, for I kept to my bed for the most part. At length my wife, who is no bad surgeon, restored me to a sound leg. No sooner had I begun to be cheerful under freedom from these troubles, than behold my old acquaintance, that executioner the gout, suddenly broke in upon me, but did not suddenly take his leave. In company with him, came a very troublesome fever. Three medical men, full of love to me, run to my chamber; one an Englishman, another a Flemyng, the third a Hungarian; by whose assistance, by the blessing of Almighty God, I at last

[u] "Hypercaustum Studiosorum." We find Parkhurst sending to a contribution for the fire, "pro foco," above p. 436.

[v] "In Publico Conventu."

[w] George Thymelthorpe, an unprincipled Collector of the tenths of Norwich Diocese; whose peculations involved the Bishop in heavy debts to the Crown. See Strype, Annals II. i. 330. Zurich Letters, pp. 394 *note*, 455 *note*.

[x] "Finito."

[y] "Scipio."

became convalescent in the month of October. My business was then with medical men; and those who live medicinally, live (as you know) miserably. Many despaired of my health. God lives, and your Parkhurst yet lives.

Our Rodolph lives, is well, hebraizes. Your Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles speak in English. On the 10th of December your learned Homilies on both Epistles to the Corinthians, together with your letter, were put into my hands; for which I thank you very much, and shall give them an early perusal, if I live. In dedicating them to me, among other Bishops, you have acted most kindly, and have highly gratified me.

The new Parliament has been summoned for the 1st of April. God grant that all its Acts may be for the glory of His name and for the welfare of the State. Your . . . . [z] have pleased me much. I will attend carefully, my sweetest Gualter, to every-thing mentioned in your letter, particularly to what relates to your son. To put an end to your wonder, I must inform you that your son delivered to me the gold ring immediately on his coming here; but *I* cannot sufficiently wonder that you sent it back.

I pray you, salute in my name, your wife, your daughters, your sons-in-law, and all Zurich friends. My wife, who is now afflicted with the gout, desires all prosperity for yourself, for yours, and for all Zurich people. Farewell. In the greatest haste.

Ludham, January 20, 1573 (? 1572).

Yours *ex animo*,

JOHN PARKHURST [Bishop] of Norwich.

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[z] "Carmina tua in Jēneses." But query whether the MS. be not faulty.

CLXI.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO LOUIS LAVATER.

LUDHAM, *January* 21, 1573.[a]

[Latin: Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 11, verso.]

† *Now first published.—Translation.*

I RECEIVED your letter, together with your Commentary on Ezekiel, on the 23d of May [1572], for which I return you hearty thanks, and will requite you, if my life be spared. Do you ask, what is my opinion of them? Certainly, my Lavater, to speak my sentiments in a single word, they appear to me very learned. This work of yours will be of great benefit to students. Go on as you have begun, and do not abandon your undertaking. I am daily and greedily expecting your Exposition on the Books of Chronicles.

Jewel, the most learned of all the Bishops in England, is deceased; as you had already heard by report. I have no time for more. You will hear other news from my letters to Master Bullinger and Gualter. Farewell, excellent Lavater. Let Froschover print those works which you may publish in future. Salute all my Zurichians. In very great haste. Ludham, January 21, 1573.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST [Bishop] of Norwich.

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[a] A letter from Parkhurst to Bullinger of the same date is printed in Zurich Letters, 1st series, p. 277.

CLXII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO JOHN WOLPH.

LUDHAM, *January* 21, 1573.

[Latin: Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 12, recto.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

YOUR letter was delivered to me on the 10th of December. You write that you read mine, short as it was, with very great pleasure. I wish, my Wolph, that I had been able to write a longer; certainly, had I been able, I should have been willing. We Bishops in England are overwhelmed, not only with Ecclesiastical, but with Political business: on this account, you will forgive me if I sometimes write with brevity.

You have done well and piously in translating our Apology into the German language; its author, as you suspect, was Jewel alone, though he published it in the name of us all. Two years ago, while he was yet living, I urged him to render all his works into Latin. At first he was not altogether reluctant; and, had he been permitted to live longer, I do not doubt that I should have persuaded him to do this. Since my plan was not successful in this way, it must be accomplished in some other. I will persuade some one of my learned friends to undertake this labour.

In the Dedication of your Esther, I recommend you to keep to your intention. I am glad to hear that you have nearly finished Ezra: I trust it will soon be published, for the benefit of the studious and of the whole Church.

Farewell, Wolph, dear to my heart, and go on to love me as you do. Salute your wife, your brother, and all my Zurich friends. My wife salutes you all. In very great haste. Ludham, January 21, 1573.

Yours from my heart,

JOHN PARKHURST [Bishop] of Norwich.

CLXIII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO JOSIAH SIMLER.

LUDHAM, *January* 21, 1573.

[Latin: Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 12, recto.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

I RECEIVED your letter, on the 23d of May, together with the pious exhortation of Master Bullinger, which, indeed, is also yours; for these I return you the greatest thanks in my power.

My wife labours under the same complaint as yourself: may the Lord mercifully give relief both to you and to her. Some years ago I wrote a few verses on the Gout,[b] which I send to you; I wrote them before I was acquainted with either my wife or you. Were I *now* about to write on such a subject, O! how would I inveigh against it!—with what virulent words would I attack it!—with what colours would I paint it!

IN PODAGRAM.

Frustatim lacerent Furiæ te dira Podagra,
  Quæ nunquàm cessas sic lacerare meos!
Hos miserè crucias, junctissima pectora nobis
  Quos olim dulcis fecit et æquus amor.
Si volupe est homines affligere;—adito Tyrannos;
  Hos fac tardigrados sæva Podagra viros!

TO THE GOUT.

[Dire Gout, thou ceaseless torment of my friend,
Thy quiv'ring limbs may angry Furies rend!
O! why inject thine agonizing darts
In kindly bosoms warm'd by noble hearts?—
Must thou afflict?—To ruthless Tyrants go;
Cripple their hands, and make their footsteps slow!]

Farewell, dearest Simler, with your Magdalena, your children, and your books. Salute, in my name and my wife's, your

[b] Published in Parkhurst's Epigrammata, p. 52, edit. 1573.

Anna, and all other friends. In very great haste. Ludham, January 21, 1573.

Bullinger's, or your, Answer to the Bavarian Articles, now speaks in English; it would not have done so, had you not first translated it into Latin.

Yours, as his own,

JOHN PARKHURST [Bishop] of Norwich.

CLXIV.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO THE CHANCELLOR OF NORWICH DIOCESE.

LUDHAM, *February* 3, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 104, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

MR. CHANCELLOR,[c]—I hear of great abuse and disorder committed at St. Simon's in Norwich on Monday last. Whereof I have no great marvel; because I could never understand of any good order or conformity in the same parish; but as persons that had vowed themselves contrary to God and good ordinances, so fareth it with the most part of that parish.

On Monday last, at Evening Prayer, after that the Minister had begun, and proceeded to the midst of the service, reading the same distinctly to the people, three or four lewd boys, set on by some lewd fools, came into the church; and, as the said Minister began to read,—"*My soul doth magnify the Lord,*"—those lewd ones burst out into singing of the same suddenly, and unlooked for; and, being commanded by the Minister to cease, they continued singing, and he reading, so as all was out of order, and the godly ones there disquieted, and much grieved. The chief of this unruly company was a son of Inglett's, a son of Mr. Pettis, and some others; and their setter on was one

[c] Probably William Maistre, LL.D.

Thomas Lynne, whose contemptuous and disobedient dealings, specially in matters in religion and in the church, is most necessary to be looked on, as one that dareth attempt what he listeth.

It ought to trouble us both, that, knowing and being informed often of the misorders of that parish, there hath nothing been done to this day, whereby their lewd liberty hath not been restrained but enlarged. I require you earnestly, that you do forthwith call the Churchwardens and the Person before you, and whom else of the parish you think meet, and, understanding the order of these disorderous dealings, you do appoint such punishment as the fault deserveth, not in this only, but in an other as great a fault:—that, where all the Churches in Norwich do forbear to toll a bell to Evening Prayer, till the sermon be done, in this parish the bells must jingle when the preacher is in the pulpit, and they must be piping when they ought to be at the preaching. And herein and such like, if we shall still continue slow and negligent in reforming, the blemish and discredit will light upon us both at the length, and that more heavily than will be well borne. And this I assure you, even in this matter of St. Simon's, as I came to the knowledge thereof by chance, without the complaint of any of the parish, so I truly understand that the godly sort of that parish have promised to seek reformation at the High Commissioners; and that forthwith, being weary (as they say) of complaining and finding no redress. For my own part, I wash my hands of it; leaving the fault in you (if any be), to whom I refer these and such like causes in mine absence, as you know. But, to stay the complaint above which is presently intended, I straightly require you to examine the misorder, and to punish it severely. It toucheth the credit of us both in the sight of the world; our place and calling bindeth us, and God looketh for it at our hands.

And so I commit you to the Almighty. At Ludham, this third of February, 1572 [1572-3].

Your assured in God,

JOHN NORWIC.

To the Chancellor of Norwich Diocese.

CLXV.

DOCTOR WILSON TO BISHOP PARKHURST.

February 12, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 105, verso.]

* *Now first published.*

My very good, dear Lord, and old acquaintance,—I am right glad to hear from you, and therefore as willing to write unto you, because I may the oftener understand of your estate and welfare. I have read your good and godly pleasant *Epigrams*;[d] which I would have imprinted by my friend John Daie before this time, but that he alleged the printing of a book in Latin against Saunders which is now in hand; but before the beginning of Easter Term, he hath promised to take your work in hand.

The world here is all quiet, which God grant long so to be: but I do not think that Princes, being once quiet within their own states, will suffer this state to be long quiet.

I do imagine by conjectures that the Parliament will not hold. And yet, who knoweth this certainly, but God only.

And thus, my good Lord, I do wish unto you all your desires; from my house, this 12 of February, 1572 [1572-3].

All[ways] your L. ever most assured,

THOMAS WILSON.

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[d] Parkhurst's Epigrams were published this year, 1573, by Day.

CLXVI.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO DOCTOR WILSON.

LUDHAM, *March* 15, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 110, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

SALUTATIONS in Christ.—I heartily thank you for your last letters, wherein as you write it shall like me well if after Easter, or otherwise at your liberty, those Epigrams[e] be printed, since you allow of the printing.

If the Parliament hold now in April, I trust we shall meet. I do send up this bringer to be at some stay for a convenient lodging for me, whereof I am not fully assured; saving that my Lady Jerningham offereth me a house of hers in the Black Friars. If I might otherwise choose, I would be in some other place; as well for that there is no furniture, as because she is noted to be a great enemy to religion, which thing chiefly moveth me; but necessity hath no law; for anything I know yet, I must be contented therewithal. And thus, leaving further to trouble you, I commend you as myself to Almighty God. At Ludham, this xvth of March, 1572 [1572-3].

Your assured, loving friend,

JOHN NORWIC'.

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[e] The title of this work is as follows:—"Johannis Parkhvrsti Ludicra sive Epigrammata Iuuenilia. Londini Apud Iohannem Dayum Typographum. An. 1573." The Preface is dated, "Tiguri, 1558." 4to., pp. 198, besides pp. 22 of Preface.

CLXVII.

DR. GARDINER[f] TO BISHOP PARKHURST.

March 20, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 113, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

My good L.,—So it is, that Sir Peter Kilburne, parson of Hepworth, in the county of Suffolk, is apprehended, and hath been examined before Mr. Drue [or Drugo, f. 113, verso], Drewerye, Mr. Chancellor,[g] and me; who, upon Articles,[h] answereth:—That he was acquainted with Mr. Cotton more than a year past, and was three sundry times in his company at one Mr. Francis Downes his house of Tudenham, where the said Mr. Cotton uttered at two sundry times words condemning this time and religion to be schismatical;[i] one time at the table in the presence of Mrs. Downes, Mrs. Cotton, and this Sir Peter; another time going over the moor between Mr. Downes his house and one Tilneye's,[k] Mr. Downes being then with this Sir Peter in company; but he saith, that he thinketh that Mr. Downes did not hear that talk:—He confesseth that he [Peter Kilburne] sent him [Mr. Cotton] a book made by one Bachelor Giles,[l] sometime a Frier in Norwich, against the King's Supremacy[m] and in defence of the Pope's Jurisdiction, and that he received commendations from the said Mr. Cotton, about xiiij days past, by one that named himself Chapman of Debnam Markett, but that fellow being examined before Mr. Mayor of

[f] George Gardiner, D.D., had been Chancellor in 1558.

[g] Dr. William Maister.

[h] These six Articles, and the Answers, are given *in extenso*, in ff. 113, verso, 114, recto.

[i] "Misliking Puritans and Protestants, as he termed them." Response 1.

[k] "John Tilney." Response 1.

[l] "Giles Coventry, Frier, Bachelor in Divinity." Response 3.

[m] "De Primatu Romani Episcopi." Response 3.

Norwich, called himself Keltshall of Halsnorth, a gester [*sic*] or a chirurgion; this man Sir Peter rewarded with vj^{s} viij^{d} for his reward, and with good cheer;[n] he [Peter] used a pair of beads in Christ Church, which he saith he hath now burnt. We found in his [Peter Kilburne's] chest, fair covered with clothes and pillows upon them, one Image of Christ with the Cross upon his back: three other tables [tablets?], two of wood and one of alabaster, with gilded Images of the Trinity, Christ crucified, and of our Ladye; a super-altar,[o] a mass-book, with a portuus; the case of a chalice, without a chalice; a letter from Mr. John Downes of Hepworth, wherein was written that he should receive money by Mr. Cotton. There hath been Articles drawn out, and he examined upon his oath in the premises: but, in my judgment, though he seem simple, he is a subtle fox; for directly he answereth to nothing, but with oaths which are rife in his mouth (a note of a Papist), and with stammering, and doubling his tale, would pass over the matter. He will not confess that he either conveyed Mr. Cotton away, or that he knows where he is. Yet Keltshall, alias Chapman, affirmed upon his examination, that this Sir Peter conveyed him away.

Scribbled in haste, at Norwich, this 20 of March, 1572 [1572-3].

Your L. at commandment,

GEORGE GARDYNER.

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[n] "Ad sextum, he saith that he went from his chamber with Chapman to the house of one Gudler in Norwich; and there, drinking together, in communication, the said Chapman used these words, or the like:—'Sir, I have a process for you, for your benefice,' and further that he 'must needs have him to London:' he gave vj^{s} viij^{d} to the said Chapman, and besides made him cheer at the said Gudlers his house, and paid for the same." Response 6.

[o] "A portues, super-altar, and other idols, and trumpery." Interrogation 4.

CLXVIII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO ARCHBISHOP PARKE.

LUDHAM, *March* 25, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 112, verso.]

* *Now first published.*

MY duty unto your Grace humbly remembered.—Upon knowledge given unto me that one Sir Peter Kilburne[q] (abiding within the Precinct of the Cathedral Church here) was acquainted with Mr. Cotton, who lately conveyed himself out of these parts, and that the said Sir Peter was otherwise suspected to have used secret conference with the said Mr. Cotton, I have caused the said Sir Peter to be called before Mr. Drurie, D. Gardner, and my Chancellor, and to be examined upon certain Articles, the copy whereof I do send unto your Grace together with his Answers; whereby may appear to your Grace how far forth I have proceeded against him, and thereupon to receive from you your advice and direction for further proceedings. I send unto you also a letter sent unto me from D. Gardner touching this matter. This Sir Peter is surely an evil-disposed body, and subtle in his Answers; but if he were more sharply dealt withal, it were like he would utter more.

Mr. Brome, the Commissary of Sudburie, hath informed me of an old woman in Stowe Markett, that taketh upon her by words of conjuration, and such other unlawful means, to cure all manner of diseases, to whom the people have resorted out of all parts in great numbers. I did think it very necessary to forbid her, and to restrain her devilish doings; and so my said Commissary in my name hath done; since which time she has entered a-fresh, and hath been also restrained. And now this day, having two of the chief of that parish before me, I have

[p] There is a short notice of this letter in Parker's published correspondence by the Parker Society, p. 417, note.

[q] See the last letter.

written, both to the Curate of the town, and to the Commissary, to command her not to meddle farther, and further to proceed against her according to law. I beseech your Grace that I may likewise be advertized from you, what to do further against her. And so I most humbly take my leave. At Ludham, this xxvth of March, 1573.

Your Grace's most bounden,

J. NORWIC'.

To my L. of Cant' his Grace.

CLXIX.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO DR. HUMPHREY.

LUDHAM, *June* 9, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 121, verso.]

* *Now first published.*

AFTER my hearty commendations.—The last Lent I sent letters to you by Mr. Standishe,[r] and the Bursar; the effect whereof was to desire you to provide a chamber for Rodolphe Gualter in your College. I desired also that he might be of the Fellows' Commons, the which I will see discharged at times by you appointed, and where you shall think metest in London, whether at his friend's Mr. Richard Hills, merchant, now dwelling in St. Lawrence Puntney's, or whether at our friend's Mr. Daye the printer. Whether the 'foresaid Gualter be come to you or not I cannot tell; if he be come, I pray you send me word what time he came, that I may certify his father thereof. I hear say

[r] William Standisse was a native of Buckinghamshire; elected Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, circa 1534; Fellow, 1538; M.A., 1543; Bursar, 1547, 1549, 1574. He was Clerk of the accounts, Dec. 7, 1550, and retained that office in 1577. He was appointed University Registrar in 1552: he resigned his Fellowship in that year. (From the information of the Rev. Dr. Bloxam, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1857.)

that he hath lingered unduly at London, from Easter last till Whitsontide, I cannot tell how long. His father is afraid that he is too youthful, and too lavish in expences; and I fear the same. Wherefore I desire you, for the love you bear to his father and me, that you would look narrowly upon him, and see that he loseth no time. I have sent this poor man, the bearer hereof, to bring me sure knowledge what is become of him; and I desire you to write your mind to me concerning him by this messenger. Commend me to your wife, and to Mr. Cole, and his, and to all my friends there. Thus I bid you well to fare as myself. In haste, from Ludham, this ixth of June, 1573. Your assured loving friend,

IO. NOR.

To Mr. Dr. Umphrey.

CLXX.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO RODOLPH GUALTER, JUN.

LUDHAM, *June* 9, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 122, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

I AM sorry that I should have occasion to write sharply unto you; but such seemeth to be your deserving. Whereof, because I would be truly advertised, I do send this messenger to Oxford of purpose. It grieveth me, and I do mislike with you, that you should of yourself, without mine advice, enterprise anything; as in your removing from Cambridge, which I had purposed should not have been till Sturbridge Fair, where you might have had both company and carriage for your books and bedding; and in the meantime to have come to me, that with my letters and provision of necessary things for you, ye might have removed to Oxford with the better credit and countenance; whereas now you have done what you may to shame me and yourself. And yet I did not forget your request for your

removing; but did accordingly write in Lent last to D. Umphrey and Mr. Cole, and did speak to the Bursar of Magdalen College that you might be provided of a chamber, and other things mete for you.

Another fault of you is, that you have lingered in London from Easter till after Whitsontide last; to the loss of your time, and the vain expence of money; and being asked of Baispole if you wanted anything, you answered Nay; and yet, since you have borrowed money of Mr. Hills, contrary to your father's commandment; but I have received your two acquittances, and have paid that money to Mr. Hills. I would be sorry your good old father should understand of these things, neither will I utter the same, in hope this admonition shall bring amendment, and better consideration of your part how to deal hereafter.

Send me word by this bringer, truly, how the case standeth with you, when you came to Oxford, how you be provided of all things. If anything be wanting at any time, I have written once again to Doct. Umphrey and Mr. Cole to provide the same for you, and at one of their hands you shall receive what you have need of, and I will see the same discharged. If you apply yourself to your study and do well, you shall want nothing, but shall find me, not a friend only, but another father unto you. God keep you, and give you His grace to do that becometh you to His glory, and your own and all your friends' comfort. At Ludham, this ixth day of June, 1573.

Your loving friend,

J. N.

A Note to the Carrier for the delivery of the two letters above written.

If either D. Umphrey or Mr. Cole be from home, then deliver these two letters to him that is at home. And let one of them deliver Gualter's letters to him. And bring me answer.

CLXXI.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

LUDHAM, *June* 30, 1573.

[Latin: copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 13, recto.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

IN the month of February your son wrote to me, informing me that it was his wish to leave Cambridge, and to go to Oxford at Easter. At which time, remarkably and fortunately, the Bursar[s] of Magdalen College, and another person named[t] Standich, who was at that College when you were in Oxford, came to my house according to their annual custom. It belongs to his office to overlook the lands which belong to Magdalen College. These gentlemen collect yearly rents in my Norfolk and Suffolk, and take them from these parts to their Society. By the hands of these persons I wrote earnestly and at considerable length to Master Lawrence Humphrey;[u] requesting him to assign a suitable and convenient room in the same College, in which your son might pursue his studies. I wrote also to Master Cole,[v] expressing a similar wish. Your son went to London at the appointed time: how long he lingered[w] there I cannot tell. He wrote a letter to me from thence, as he says; but I received none. Having heard nothing from him, I began to be very anxious, as indeed I always am. On the 9th of June, therefore, I sent a messenger to Oxford, with letters to Master Humphrey, to Master Cole, and to your son; the latter of whom

[s] Probably Thomas Cole. The Bursars of Magdalen College, in 1573, were John Daye, John Mansell, and William Inkforbie.

[t] See the note, *suprà*, p. 469.

[u] President of Magdalen College, Oxford.

[v] Probably Thomas Cole, who was Fellow of Magdalen, and one of the three Bursars in 1574. (Information of the Rev. Dr. Bloxam, 1857.)

[w] "Hæsit."

I reproved severely, &c.[x] My messenger found your son there; and returned to me the day before the feast of John the Baptist, [June 23,] bringing letters, transmitted by Humphrey, Cole, and your son, and dated on the 15th of June. The same day a chamber was assigned to him, as Cole writes me word. Humphrey promises his exertion; I my aid. You wish me to think of looking out for some subordinate employment,[y] in which he may exercise himself for his support. O my Gualter, there is no need of this! For, as long as he may remain in England, I will provide for his wants,[z] *even though other Bishops should contribute nothing.* Dismiss anxiety.

George Thimelthorpe, that unprincipled collector, and unprincipled rascal, who relieved me of such large sums of money, and who absconded more than two years ago, and who could not be found hitherto, although diligent search was made for him, was taken in London on the 25th of April, and thrown into prison: there he still remains, and will remain until the next Parliament, which is summoned for the 8th of October; unless the Queen shall have changed her mind, which she has done twice or thrice this year for certain reasons. He will then be compelled to restore what he owes me; then your Parkhurst, who has hitherto been struggling against *penury,* will enjoy *pecuniary* abundance. I wish you to know this, that you may rejoice with me.

It gave me pleasure to hear that you are no longer hemicranic.[a] I was decidedly an invalid, and painfully so, from Easter to Whitsuntide. It was generally reported, not only in my Diocese, but also in London, that I was deceased. This rumour had even reached the Court; aye, even the Queen's ears. She asked many persons whether it was a fact. It fortunately happened that one of my preachers was present at that time, who positively affirmed that I was not dead, that I had been in the greatest danger; but that I had now escaped all danger. "It is well," said the Queen, "I am glad."

[x] So in the MS.; the details of the censure, probably, being omitted in th copy.

[y] "Aliqua conditiuncula."

[z] See a note to Parkhurst's letter to R. Gualter, senior, March 9, 1572, above, p. 445, where Dr. Maitland's very unjust and censurable suspicion as to Parkhurst's sincerity in this promise, is commented on.

[a] "Hemicranicum."

As to what you write, that you will return to me, through Froschover, whatever I have given to your son, certainly, my Gualter, is a very unkind intimation, and one which stirs up my unrestrained displeasure; for even though he were to remain in England for a period of ten years, neither you nor Haller should pay anything for him. Let such unpleasant words, therefore, be heard no more. He took up from Hilles, on the 28th of April, 13 florins and 5 batz of German money; which sum I discharged to Hilles, under a formal receipt, before the Feast of Barnabas, (June 11,) namely, five pounds ten shillings, according to our computation: moreover, I left an injunction with Hilles not to advance him in future, one halfpenny; which he has promised to observe. I transmit to you, enclosed, his two cancelled Notes-of-hand.[b] On the 6th of July, I will send Hilles 10 Angels, that he may transmit them for your son to Master Humphrey, who will take care that he shall be more frugal in time to come, for so he has promised.

I never had any intimacy with the present residents at Cambridge; with the Oxonians, considerable. I am looking eagerly for your Homily preached on St. Stephen's day; for your supposition is true, that I occasionally Germanize. I congratulate our neighbours Stampher and Gimper on their great honours; certainly I always considered them to be prudent and pious men.

Do not repent of your letter written to me in 1566,[c] which was scarcely sufficiently sharp and vehement: for, at that time certain of my brethren were considered too rigid and severe; and even now are thought to be too much addicted[d] to ceremonies. But, however that may be, no one, in my opinion, will accuse you of lenity: nor ought any one, if he weighs in a just balance each of those Epistles, written to me, and to the Lord [Bishop] of Ely. Certainly, I find no fault with the ceremonies of our Church, for I reckon them [among the *res*] *Ἀδιάφορα*;[e] nevertheless, I could desire that all [such] things were assimilated to the Church of Zurich. Among the wisest of

[b] "Cyrographa." These two notes of hand, from Rodolph Gualter, jun., to Richard Hilles, are transcribed in f. 12, verso.

[c] See this letter, dated Sept. 11, 1566, in the Zurich Letters, p. 260, 2d edit. 1846.

[d] "Dediti."

[e] Matters of indifference.

men was that Dionysius Melander, whose history you once related to me, not without laughter; nor could I hear without laughter, &c.[f] On the 12th of June, it was ordered by public authority, that the Book[g] in which was inserted your letter to me, should be withdrawn from circulation, and within twenty days should be given up, either to some one of the Council, or to the Bishop of each Diocese. The same course is to be taken with regard to books of the same stamp.

Perpetual winter has prevailed here from the beginning of November up to Whitsuntide. The coldest winds, the East, the North, and the North-east, blew incessantly during the whole of this period: while the warm breezes, the Westerly, and the South, rarely or never came. We all began to fear a high price for corn; but now a better hope beams on us, for the crops in almost every quarter are most beautiful.

The Citadel of Edinburgh in Scotland, after a long siege, was surrendered to the English and to the pious Scotch in the month of May: all the Papists, who were formerly there, have been turned out.

Your long letter, accompanied by your excellent Poems, was delivered to me the day before Whitsunday, namely, on the 9th of May; I received your subsequent letter on the 23d of June. I have sent you 8 Crowns; 7 for the students' stove,[h] the eighth for Froschover: I wonder you have made no mention of these in your letters. Farewell, my excellent Gualter. Salute, I pray you, in my name, Master Bullinger, Lavater, and your sons-in-law. Salute, also, your wife, your daughters, your neighbours, and others at Zurich. My wife [salutes] you all. In very great haste. Ludham, June 30, 1573.

I peruse your long letters with pleasure; but I do not write long ones with pleasure.

Yours, *ex animo*,

JO. PARKHURST [Bishop] of Norwich.

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[f] So in the MS. Probably some ridiculous anecdote was omitted in the copy, by the Bishop's desire.

[g] Admonition to the Parliament, &c. See Strype's Parker, ii. 111.

[h] "Hypocaustum."

CLXXII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

September 30, 1573.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 138, verso.]

* *Now first published.*

My duty humbly remembered.—For answer to your Grace's letters on behalf of Francis Morley, and the state of St. Gregory's Church in Norwich:—the Bishop[i] of Man, and D. Gardyner,[k] being patrons of that Church, my Chancellor, and D. Brisely, Commissary of the City of Norwich, have been together at the said Church, beside some other of my house; who all do generally mislike the order of the Rood-loft, as being in a manner whole, with the vault or soller, and the fore part, with the door and stairs to go up, so as little is wanting of that it was in the time of Popery. And it is certainly affirmed by the persons afore-named, that, while they were present, there was nothing uttered by Morley, or urged by them, but may well be allowed, and is agreeing to the Bokes of Advertisements and the Canons set forth by authority. And therefore I marvel that any of that parish should so much forget themselves, as to report an untruth to your Grace: but such is the nature of Debney of that parish, who many ways forgetteth himself, as in calling the Geneva Psalms, '*Gehenna Psalms*,' &c. Such other adversaries there be many in that parish. And herein your Grace's Chapter hath forgotten the state of that Roodloft; for, while the Bishop of Man, and the rest, were there, they saw three men stand on a rank on the soller: wherefore they of the parish must needs in

[i] John Salisbury, Dean of Norwich, was made Bishop of Sodor and Man, 1570; he died September, 1573—the month in which this letter was written. (See Bishop Parkhurst's letter to him, *suprà*, p. 438.) The See is said to have been vacant for some time.

[k] Formerly Chancellor of Norwich Diocese.

maintaining thereof, bewray what they be, and condemn the rest of the Rood-lofts in Norwich being contrary to that of St. Gregory's.

Touching the credit of the said Morley, whom they have so greatly complained of, I have known him well, since my coming in there, to be right honest, faithful, and of upright judgment, forward to reform gross abuses (such as this is, of the Rood-loft,) and not otherwise any way curious, or busily given, that ever I knew, or can truly learn; but, applying himself, with his honest travail doth get his living, and maintaineth a great charge, to his good commendation, and the credit and good favour of the most part of the City, or elsewhere, with whom he is acquainted, even of the best and most worshipful calling; as shall well appear to your Grace by such other good report as shall be delivered on his behalf.

And thus, craving pardon for these very tedious letters, beseeching the Almighty to prosper you in all your godly attempts, I most humbly take my leave, this last of September, 1573.

Your Grace's to command,

J. NORWIC'.

To my L. of Cant' His Grace.

CLXXIII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

LUDHAM, *February* 6, 1574.[1]

[Latin: Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 21, recto.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

I AM grieved to hear that your highly valued friend Master George à Stetton is deceased. I am grieved, I say; not that I

[1] Letters from Parkhurst to Bullinger, Feb. 6, 1574, and to Josiah Simler, Feb. 7, 1574, are printed in Zurich Letters, 1st series, pp. 300, 303.

had ever a personal acquaintance with him, but because his death has caused such bitter grief to you. I cannot but love those who my Gualter loves. I cannot but lament the death of those who my Gualter laments. I am grieved, also, that we have lost an excellent man, and no small ornament of the Church, Master Wolph, of whose death I had heard nothing before I read your letter.

Reginald Wolph, a native of Germany, and a London printer, an intimate acquaintance of Partridge and of myself, and not unknown, I think, to you, when you were in England, died about the end of November, [1573]. He was called the Flower of all the London booksellers. Undoubtedly he was a very learned and pious man.

What the Lord [Bishop] of Ely may have written[m] to you, or rather what letter he may have extorted from you,[n]—I do not know: but, certainly, my Gualter, I should be sorry if you were to mix yourself up too much with these frivolous matters. I do not, indeed, find fault with[o] our Ceremonies or Vestments; but I reckon them among things indifferent.[p] But O! I wish, I wish,—O! I wish that all the English would at length seriously place before themselves the Church of Zurich as a perfect model for their imitation. Master Whitgift,[q] having heard that I have received a letter from you, and suspecting that you have written something about our controverted matters, has earnestly requested[r] me to send him either the letter itself, or at least a copy. I have complied with neither request: for, if it should at all advance his argument for the Ceremonies, forthwith he inserts it in his work, and takes care that it shall appear in print.

Great dissensions spring up every where, and spring up daily, between Protestants and Papists. The Papists erect their crests, and triumph as if they had gained a victory: the Protestants lower their crests, and move on with a downcast countenance.

[m] The letter referred to, is probably that from Bishop Cox to Gualter, dated Ely, June 26, 1573, printed in the Zurich Letters, p. 420, 2d edit., 1846.

[n] See the reply of Gualter to Bishop Cox, August 12, 1573, Ibid., p. 440.

[o] "Improbo."

[p] "Res ἀδιαφόρας."

[q] See Whitgift's Works, ii., p. 22, Parker Society edit., where Gualter's and Bullinger's judgment on the vestments is recited.

[r] "Obtestatus est me."

May God give a happy end to these turbulent beginnings! Amen! Amen!

Not a few preachers having the cure of souls, altogether desert their posts, leaving them to wolves or to persons totally unqualified.[s] Possibly you may ask, what can induce them to act thus? There can be no doubt that it is, because they scruple to use the linen vestments—they are commonly called surplices, in the sacred ministry. I by no means approve their decision.

George Thimelthorpe, that rascally Collector, who relieved me of such a sum of money, and who was thrown into prison in London, obtained leave from the Councillors to be released from his prison for a time, and to return to his friends in Norfolk: they had my consent, for without my concurrence they would not have conceded any thing to him. He was released accordingly. He was twice with me at Ludham, promising me all but mountains of gold! With uplifted hands he implored me to forgive this misdemeanour.[t] I forgave the misdemeanour; but I did not forgive the payment of the money due to the Queen and to myself.[u] He promised that he would do everything that would be satisfactory to the Queen and myself. God grant he may do so! In the meantime, agreeably to his promise, in the course of a few days, he betook himself to the well-known prison in London.

Parliament, which had been summoned for the 8th of October, was prorogued to the 4th of February. However, even this day was not observed; but another, namely, the 19th of April, has been assigned for this our Session.

The Queen, as you know, was born in Kent, namely, at Greenwich. Last summer she made a merry Progress[v] through the whole of Kent, her native County, for the sake of her health.[w] But possibly the Poet has pointed out the true cause:

> "Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine captos
> Attrahit, immemores nec sinit esse sui."
>
> [Our native land with sweetest chains can bind;
> Nor lets her memory vanish from the mind.]

[s] "Idiotis."

[t] "Noxam."

[u] Strype gives, from this letter, this account of the interview between Thymelthorpe and Bishop Parkhurst. Annals II., i. 336.

[v] "Hilaris peregrinavit."

[w] "Animi causâ."

When she was at Canterbury, the French Ambassador waited upon her; and, in the opinion of some, was too well entertained. Having heard the sweetest music in the Cathedral, he was extolling it to the skies;—"*Good heavens,*"[x] said he, "*it is my belief that no Sovereign in all Europe; aye, not even the Most Holy Father himself, ever heard such melodies*"! A certain young nobleman (ein Adelman) stood by, and, having heard this speech, was roused to indignation, and says,—"*Pooh! Pooh! Do you compare that Romish quack*[y] *with our Queen? or, rather, do you prefer him to her?*" The Ambassador, (—they say he was an Italian, Count F***[z]—) kindling into a flame of anger, relates the affair to some of the Council. They recommend him to take no further notice[a] of the matter, but to bear it composedly; "*for,*" say they, "*the very boys in this country call him by that name, and even denominate him the Roman Antichrist.*" He left them with a sorry face.

I have a Bower[b] (ein Bog) in my garden, much longer than your Susenbergian, which this year bore me many bunches,[c] but not a single ripe grape. At this snowy season, it cherished and fed miserable and tame little birds.[d]

I should like to hear something about our Baron and his tutor; for I am not without fear for them, in the midst of so much French fury.

Your son has taken his degree of Master of Arts. I am unwilling, my Gualter, that your son should be called home in the midst of his course of study; and if you do indeed call him home, I shall retain him at Oxford, even against your wishes.—"Sufficiently imperious"! you will say,—but you know that Bishops *are* sufficiently imperious. In whatever respects your son may have been a delinquent in time past, forgive him, I intreat you, for my sake. He is a young man; and the young do many juvenile things. I have no doubt that he will recover himself, when he shall have called to mind [the precepts of] his parents. On the 14th of November he wrote me a rather long letter, which encourages me to hope well of him. Do not, my Gualter, throw off paternal regard for him; but

[x] "Dii boni."
[y] "Nebulo."
[z] These words are interlined, and the name is doubtful.
[a] "Quiescere."
[b] "Arcū;" for "*Arcum*"?
[c] "Botros."
[d] "Aviculas."

express yourself more mildly to him in your next letter, lest you should possibly drive him to desperation. There is moderation in all things. Do not press too hard. He shall live here without any cost to yourself. Master Humphrey wrote to me on the 9th of January, but did not say one word about your son: which greatly surprises me. However, I hear that he is well. I am in daily expectation of the Bursar and Standich: I will fish out everything from them, and will give you exact information.

Robert Cooch[e] is a very accomplished[f] man, and well skilled in Music. When I was a preacher at the Court of Queen Catharine, he was Steward[g] of the Wine Cellar. In the days of King Edward, Master William Turner, that distinguished Physician and very learned Divine, wrote a book against him, in which he refuted his opinion on original sin. At that time he held erroneous sentiments on Infant Baptism. He entertained some dreamy, unheard of, notions respecting the Lord's Supper. He very frequently troubled Coverdale and myself by controversies on these matters; so that we were quite weary of him. He was verbose to an extreme. When Jewel and other learned men came to [my] Hall,[h] to visit me, this man instantly began to enter on these subjects with them, nor could he make any end of his loquacity. Now, [he is] even in the Queen's Court—

"Et Reginæ in bellâ est cantor ipse Capellâ."

[A singer now, he may be seen,
In the fine chapel of the Queen.]

Such is his situation:—and this situation he nearly lost a few years ago, in consequence of such [strange] opinions; so the Duke of Norfolk told me in his life-time: but at that time he

[e] Robert Cooch was now one of the Gentlemen of the Queen's Chapel. See Strype, Memor. II., i. 111.

[f] "Vir valdè humanus."

[g] "Promus."

[h] "Mihi invisendi gratiâ in Aulam venissent."—It seems doubtful whether the meaning be, that Jewel and others came to Parkhurst's *Palace*, or to the *Court*, to see him.

sang his Palinodia; as I heard from the same Duke. So much concerning Cooch. "Answer not a fool according to his folly."

How grieved I am that Masters Bullinger, Simler, Lavater, Wick, are suffering under so much illness; and how delighted I am that my Gualter is healthy and active. A hundred times a-day I seem to see that thin[i] face of my Gualter, and the grey hairs beginning to scatter themselves on his head. The stone, that very savage tyrant, has often miserably afflicted me this winter . . . . . .[k] during the months of October, November, December, and January.

I received a letter from you on the 12th of December, and another the day before the Nativity of our Lord. I wish you to know this. Salute in my name Masters Bullinger, Simler, Lavater, Wick, your wife, your daughters, your sons-in-law; and other friends of mine at Zurich, Haller, the Cellarii, &c. May the Lord bless the marriage of your daughter, whose alliance has ennobled her.[l] My wife salutes you all. Farewell, my Gualter.

February 6, 1574. Ludham.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST [Bishop] of Norwich.

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[i] "Macilentam."

[k] The Bishop here describes the distressing effects of his malady from October to January.

[l] "Filiæ tuæ nobilitatulæ nuptiis."

CLXXIV.

FROM AN UNKNOWN PERSON—A COMMISSIONER—TO BISHOP PARKHURST.

March 6, 1574.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 151, recto.]

* *Now first published.—Translation.*

My duty unto your L. humbly remembered.—Whereas sithence my last being with you at Norwich, I have been advertised that divers ministers within your Diocese in this County of Norfolk, for their disorderly usage in not observing the Book of Common Prayer set forth by the Queen's Majesty, or for their contemptuous preaching or speaking against it, contrary to the Queen's Highness's laws, proclamations, and direct commandment given in that behalf, are by your L. or your Officers sequestered, as well from saying the Common Service or ministering the Sacraments, as also from preaching, until they will submit themselves and live as it becometh good and obedient ministers and subjects in that function; wherein, for that part, your L. in mine opinion have done very well;—if, (as I am credibly given to understand,) your L. or your Officers had not given to divers of them toleration or license to catechize in their parish Churches, and to use the exercise of prophesying in the open congregation, (which sufferance and permission is *ad appositum* and greatly offensive). For, whosoever should be admitted to instruct and teach in the ministry, ought to be modest, no quarrelers; first proved, and then to minister if they be blameless. But these, being proved and tried, show themselves stubborn and obstinate to the whole state, and disobedient ministers or subjects, crossing the Prince's authority and laws; thinking themselves wiser than the whole realm is besides, as it seemeth.

Surely, my L., these and such like persons are not to be

tolerated, or suffered to teach, or use any exercise in the Church, until they shall openly shew an humble submission, and conform themselves to the orders prescribed by Her Majesty. Wherefore your L. shall do well to wink no longer at them; but presently to restrain them wholly until they will reform themselves. Wherein your L. shall shew yourself a good Pastor, and avoid further inconvenience, that otherwise will or is like to ensue, as it is much to be feared. And if further complaint shall hereupon arise, it is not unlike but that your L.'s lenity and sufferance shall be imputed to be the whole or chief occasion of the offence that may succeed thereof.

And thus being bold as your L.'s well willer to inform you of that which I think is not fully or at all known unto you, I leave further to trouble you; beseeching God to send you your own good heart's desire.

From * * * * ,[m] this vjth of March, 1573 [1574].

Your Lordship's, to his little power, one joined in Commission with you,

N. N.

CLXXV.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO THE CHANCELLOR[n] OF THE DIOCESE OF NORWICH.

LUDHAM, *March* 7, 1574.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 152, recto.]

[o]* *Now first published.*

* * * * I HEAR further that some of these ministers that be suspended from administration and serving in their cures, are, notwithstanding, bold to preach, to speak in prophecies, and

[m] The name of the place has been erased with a knife.

[n] Probably Dr. William Maister.

[o] This letter, in the MS., is only partially given,—beginning thus,—"&c. I hear." It is referred to, but not printed, by Strype, Annals, II. i. 479.

to catechize; and therein deal more liberally than is convenient; whereby offence is taken; and I am advertised thereof. For remedy and restraint whereof, I require you that in my name you send forth either by your letters, or otherwise, unto my four Commissaries, charging them, and every of them, that they call before them all such of the clergy in their several jurisdictions as have been suspended for causes aforesaid, or have given over their benefices; straightly charging such persons henceforth not to attempt either to preach, or prophesy, or to speak to the congregation by the way of catechizing, unless such person or persons do first before the said Commissary subscribe, or otherwise only promise to submit himself to the order and conformity appointed. And if any person shall contemn their said charge, the same to be certified to me or other of the next Commissioners, to be otherwise intreated as the case shall deserve. Wherein I wish you, for your part, and mine other officers, to use all their best endeavour. And thus I bid you well to fare. At Ludham, this 7th of March, 1573 [1574].

Your loving friend,

J. N.

CLXXVI.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

April 2, 1574.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 155, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

I HAVE seen a letter[p] sent from your Grace to Mr. Matchet, whereby your Grace willeth the vain prophesyings of this Diocese to be suppressed. I would be glad to be resolved whether you mean thereby, the abuse of some vain speeches used in some of

[p] The letter (dated March 25, 1574) is printed in the correspondence of Parker, p. 456, edit. Parker Society. Mr. Matchet was "Parson of Thurgarton."

those conferences, or else generally the whole order of those Exercises which surely have and do daily bring singular benefit to the Church of God, as well in the Clergy as in the Laity, and is a right necessary exercise to be continued, so the same be not abused, as indeed it hath not been, unless it be in one or two places at the most; whereof, after I had understanding, I wrote an earnest letter[q] to my Chancellor, commanding that such persons as were over busy speakers should be put to silence, unless they would subscribe to the Articles of conformity in religion, or else promise not to intermeddle with any matter established and commanded by Her Majesty; which was performed accordingly: since which time I have not heard, but all things have succeeded quietly, without offence to any. And thus, &c., ij[do] Aprilis, 1574.

Your Grace's, &c.,

J. N.

To my L. of Cant' His Grace.

CLXXVII.

DR. GEORGE GARDINER TO BISHOP PARKHURST.[r]

FROM THE COURT, *April* 8, 1574.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 156, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

* * * * *

THERE was, on Palm Sunday last, at one hour, at four sundry masses, in four sundry places, and out-corners of the City of London, 53 persons taken; whereof the most part were ladies, gentlewomen, and gentlemen. Twenty-two of them stand

[q] See the letter, *suprà*, p. 484.

[r] This letter is very long, and is chiefly on a matter of personal dispute with the Bishop, respecting some preferment. The only passage of interest is that here extracted.

stoutly to the matter; whereof the Lady Morlaye and the Lady Browne, which paid before 100 marks for her first offence, are the chief. The priests glory in their doings, and did affirm that there were five hundred masses in England that day. The Queen's Majesty said openly, it was the negligence of the Bishops, and of their Chancellors, Archdeacons, and Commissaries, that was the cause of all this. It stands your L. in hand to look about. The xth part of these masses were said in your Diocese (if there were so many): good conjectures saith so: and I pray God none of your officers be culpable in consenting to them. The days be dangerous. The devil is busy to lull men asleep in security, and to be negligent in their offices, that require vigilant pastors to such time as he may by policy plant ignorance and idolatry to be commended with . . . . [s] the greatest diligence is too little, and the least speck of careless negligence is too much. . . . At the Court, the 8th of April, 1574.

Your L. to use in Christ,

GEORGE GARDYNER.

CLXXVIII.

SANDYS, BISHOP OF LONDON, AND OTHERS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, TO BISHOP PARKHURST.

LONDON, *May* 6, 1574.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 159, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

[t] SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.—Whereas we understand that there are certain good Exercises of Prophecying and expounding of Scriptures in Norfolk, as namely at Holte town and other places,

[s] The word here omitted seems to be "*crueltie;*" but the sense is not clear.

[t] Strype refers to this Letter, Annals II. i. 477. See an account of this matter in Parker's Correspondence, p. 457, *note*, edit. Parker Society; and the Archbishop's sharp Letter to Parkhurst, May 17, 1574.

whereby both speakers and hearers do profit much, in the knowledge of the Word of God:

And whereas some not well minded towards true religion, and the knowledge of God, speak evil and slanderously of these Exercises, as commonly they use to do even against the sincere preaching of God's Holy Word:

These are to require your L., that, so long as the truth is godly and reverently uttered in this Prophecying, and that no seditious, heretical, or schismatical doctrine, tending to the disturbance of the peace of the Church, can be proved to be taught or maintained in the same; that so good an help and mean to farther true religion may not be hindered and stayed, but may proceed and go forward to God's glory, and the edifying of the people:

Thus, not doubting of your forwardness herein, your office and calling dutifully requiring the same at your hands, we bid your L. right heartily farewell.

From London, this vjth of May, 1574.

Your L.'s loving friends,

ED. LONDON.
F. KNOLLYS.
T. SMITHE.
WA. MILDMAYE.

CLXXIX.

* BISHOP PARKHURST TO SANDYS, BISHOP OF LONDON.

LUDHAM, *May* 28, 1574.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2, 34, f. 158, verso.]

I RECEIVED letters from your L., and three of Her Majesty's Privy Council, viz., Sir Fraunces Knowles, Sir Thomas Smith,

* This letter is given nearly *in extenso* by Strype, Annals, II. i. 478, but is here reprinted, as necessary for the elucidating of the letter from the Council of May 6, printed above.

and Sir Walter Myldmay, to this effect. That whereas certain godly exercises of Prophecying were used in these parts,[x] and some, not well disposed towards true religion, do speak evil and slander the same, that I should notwithstanding proceed and go forward in the same, so as no seditious, heretical, or schismatical doctrine were taught or maintained in the same, &c. Not long before the receipt of these your letters, I understand by a Chaplain[y] of my L. of Canterburie's Grace that his commandment was that these exercises should be suppressed. And now lately his Grace understanding that I had received these letters from your L. and the rest, willeth[z] me to let him understand what that warrant is; since Her Majesty, as his Grace writeth, had commanded him to write to all his brethren of this Province to the contrary. Before I shall do anything in the answer of his Grace, I thought good to signify this much to your L., praying you of your friendly advice herein; that neither my duty may be neglected in answering his Grace's request, nor the same answer to be such as might offend your L., and the rest of the Honourables that have written for the continuance of that godly Exercise of expounding the Scriptures, which undoubtedly hath brought singular benefit to the Church of God. And so most humbly I take my leave. At Ludham, this xxviijth of May, 1574.

Your L. most loving brother,

J. NORWIC'.

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[x] Parkhurst had given permission for "Exercises of Prophecyings," at Bury, by letter, Feb. 16, 1572: see the letter printed in Strype, Annals, II. ii. 494.

[y] Rev. Mr. Matchett, Parson of Thurgarton. See the letter dated March 25, 1574, in Parker's Correspondence, p. 456.

[z] See the Archbishop's Letters in Correspondence of Parker, p. 459: it is dated May 17.

CLXXX.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

LUDHAM, *June* 5, 1574.[a]

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 159, verso.]

* *Now first published.*

MY duty unto your Grace humbly remembered.—It may like you to understand that certain, of good place and great credit, did write unto me not long since, not by the way of a *Warrant*, but as giving advice; that so as nothing were brought in question tending to controversy, or frivolous contention, or contrary to Her Majesty's commandment, or laws established,—the Exercise of Prophesying might well be continued. Notwithstanding, knowing from your Grace that Her Majesty's commandment is, the same should be suppressed throughout your Province, I have already myself stayed them in some places, and have commanded my officers to suppress the same through this my Diocese.

Whereas your Grace seemeth to mislike that I should communicate with my friends concerning such matters, as it pleaseth you to write in letters, if the cause be weighty I cannot but think it needful to take advice, and yet not imparting such matters to many or talkative persons. And, touching such public commandment as can hardly be kept close, they, in such cases, are rather to be suspected, than myself, for opening such matters, to whose ears or handling they come before I hear or receive them. As, for example, the commandment which your Grace sent for the suppressing of Prophecies, was written in a letter to Mr. Machett your Chaplain, and the same uttered to sundry persons e're I had understanding thereof, as I am truly

[a] This Letter is briefly noticed in the published Parker Correspondence, p. 459, where also the Archbishop's answer to it is given in full. Strype gives the first paragraph of this letter, Annals, II. i. 479.

informed. Lastly, the same letter was delivered to my Chancellor open, and so conveyed to me; which I could have wished, indeed, had been used with more secrecy.

If your Grace did hear and see what contention and heart-burning is kindled in many places, and what earnest disputations are maintained abroad, for the bread, either part diversly affected, the one alleging the Book, the other Her Majesty's Injunction; the one affirming this, th'other that, to be of more force; in such dangerous, bitter, and daily striving, your G. would think it not impertinent for me to wish a certainty; and one way to be set down, for every body, by such as are placed in high authority.

Although it seems not to your purpose in the succession of Bishops of this Diocese, which I sent your G. by Mr. Peede, yet do I send unto you a note of such notable matters as have happened in the City of Norwich of a long time.

And so most humbly I take my leave. At my house at Ludham, vj^to^ Junii, 1574.

Your G. most bounden,

J. N.

CLXXXI.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO THE CHANCELLOR[b] OF NORWICH DIOCESE.

LUDHAM, *June* 7, 1574.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 159, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

AFTER my hearty commendations. Whereas by the receipt of my L. of Canterburie's letter, I am commanded by him, in the Queen Her Majesty's name, that all the Prophesyings throughout my Diocese should be suppressed: These are therefore to will you, that, as conveniently as you may, you give notice

[b] Strype notices this letter. Annals. II. i. 479.

to every of my Commissaries, that they, in their several circuits, may suppress the same. And so I leave you to God. At Ludham, this vijth of June, 1574.

Your loving friend,

J. N.

CLXXXII.

DR. FREAKE,[c] BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, TO BISHOP PARKHURST.

From the Court, *June* 13, 1574.

[Copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 161, recto.]

* *Now first published.*

My very good L.,—My hearty commendations remembered. I have received your letters; wherein I perceive it hath pleased you to like and allow of my poor advice. And where your L. would understand whether the like commandment be generally given throughout this Province, I must tell your L. that I hear of no such commandment, neither in London Diocese, neither yet in mine, nor elsewhere. But my L. of London, I, and others, have taken such order, that no man within any of our Dioceses, in any matter of controversy, shall have anything to do; and so, by this means, the exercise is continued, to the comfort of God's Church, [and] increase of knowledge in the ministry, without offence: and so I doubt nothing but it shall do within your Diocese, if your L. observe the like order. And thus, resting always yours, I take my leave of your L. From the Court, the xiijth of June, 1574.

Your L. poor, loving brother,

EDMUND ROFFENSIS.

[c] He succeeded Parkhurst at Norwich in 1575. Strype notices this letter, Annals, II. i. 478.

CLXXXIII.

BISHOP PARKHURST TO RODOLPH GUALTER.

LUDHAM, *June* 29, 1574.[d]

[Latin: copy by the Bishop's Secretary, MSS. Public Library, Cambridge, Ee. 2. 34, f. 23, verso.]

Now first published.—Translation.

ON the 6th of February, I wrote letters to you,[e] to Master Bullinger,[f] and to Simler,[g] which I hope you have received. On the 18th of June, I received your long letter; but the longer, the more gratifying to me. It contains scarcely anything which I had not answered [by anticipation] in my last. For, as respects your son, I wrote, that I entertained the best hopes of him, and I daily entertain better hope; and I encourage you to do the same. When he shall have reached home, you will acknowledge that I wrote and said what is true. Certainly, my Gualter, he will *pater*-nize,[h] both in doctrine and morals. What, if he has been more of a spendthrift than is justifiable? You do not think it necessary [for him] to do everything exactly in conformity with your law; and we must connive at the young man, if he has been somewhat too profuse. When I was of the same age as your son, I spent more money than my parents desired: however, they made much allowance for my age; and, after they had given me admonitions for frugality, they preferred to act the part of the lenient Mitio, rather than that of the stern and rough Demea. Go you and do likewise. He lately wrote, and sent to me, a rather long Elegy, *On the Miseries of Scholastic Life*. If you read it, when you have leisure, you will praise your son's genius. So far, as to your son.

Our great Session [of Parliament] is prorogued to the 20th of

[d] There is a letter of the same date from Parkhurst to Bullinger, printed in Zurich Letters, 1st series, p. 303.

[e] See this letter, above, p. 477.

[f] This letter to Bullinger is printed in Zurich Letters, p. 455, 2d edit., 1846.

[g] This letter to Simler is printed in Zurich Letters, p. 456.

[h] "Patrisabit."

October; at which time Thimelthorpe will, I trust, be forced, by a unanimous vote, to make restitution both to the Queen and to myself; till then I am unable to give any positive opinion about his affair.

In my last letter I wrote with sufficient diffuseness on our controversies about certain little Ceremonies,[i] on Robert Cooch, and on some other matters. May the Lord grant to James Andreas and Andrew Musculus a better mind; or, rather, may He restore to them the mind which they appear to have entirely lost.

I will give your son sufficient for his journey. Salute, I pray you, in my name, all your daughters, and your sons [in law], and our [friends], among whom I number that good old man Colin. May the Lord keep and defend all my Zurichians, from the Pope, Papists, and their father the Devil. Amen! Amen! I return you many thanks for your very learned Homilies which you lately sent me. My wife salutes you all. In very great haste. Ludham, June 29, 1574.

You will learn from your son what the Butlers are doing, &c.

Yours,

JOHN PARKHURST [Bishop] of Norwich.

CLXXXIV.

CHANCELLOR STANHOPE[k] TO THE ARCHDEACONS IN THE DIOCESE OF LONDON.

LONDON, *August* 5, 1586.

[From the Registers of the Bishop of London, in St. Paul's Cathedral.]

* *Now first published.*

SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.—Whereas yow wear required, in my Lord Bishope of London's Visitation, to examine the inferior

[i] "Ceremoniolæ."

[k] Son of Lady Ann Stanhope. (See MSS. Lansdowne, 28, p. 138, No. 67.) There is a letter of his to the Bishop of London, "from the Doctors' Commons, 1583," in MSS. Lansdowne, 39, No. 30. Another dated in 1558, in MSS. Lansdowne, 58, No. 43.

sort of mynisters, not being allowed Prechers, and vnder the degree of Masters of Art, accordinge to the Canons in that behalf published at the last Convocation, the daye for their first triall being assigned the .... daye of .... next; I have for your better vnderstandinge, who they be that yow are to deale withall, sent you herwith the names of all thos that be to attend you; desiringe, that as well now, as at suche other tims as yow shall apoynt for continuance of the Exercises, the names of such as shall absent them selves may as well be certified, as of those who shall eyther be found unprofitable, or slacke, and negligent, or contemtoous, in performinge anye of thos Exercises which shall be apoynted them. And for that experience hath alreadye taught some of yow that amongst the *unsufficienter* sort of them, some wyll procure such exercises, as shall be apoynted them, to be made by others, whilst them selvs be holly bent vpon idlenes, I hope yow will forsee that euerie on shall be labored w'thall, to trye whether thos fruts he shall bringe be of his own gatheringe or no.

The daye of retorne of Certificats vnder your hands, is the ·X· of October next. I hope so good a worke for the increase of knowledge in God's Churche, beinge in this age so nedfull to be taken in hand, shall, w'th your own trauayls, beinge assisted w'th the Archdeacons in theyr seuerall Jurisdictions, be as wyllinglye by you, or so manye of you as Mr. Archdeacon shall require, continued, as it is w'th your greatt zealle to the encrease of lerninge begun. And so w'th my hartie commendations I leue you his hevenlie protection, whos Holye Spirite be our guide. Farewell. From the Doctors Commons, London, the fyveth day of August, 1586.

Your verye lovinge friend,

EDW. STANHOPE.

[1] I trust Mr. Archdecon will forsee, that as anye Curate is removed, (as it often falleth out,) that thos who come new w'thin theire Jurisdiction shall be compelled to attend these Exercises.

As for the Order sent forth by my L. Grace of Cant., for thexercises[m] of the vnlerneder sorte of the Ministerye, the Arch-

[1] This Postscript is in a different hand.

[m] These were undoubtedly the "Orders" adopted in Convocation, March 31, 1585; to the effect that such as are not Masters of Arts or Preachers shall

decon's Register may make a copie thereof forth of that which was enclosed in the letters sent from my L. of London to the Archdecon.

M^d^. That I delivered xii of thisse lletters with schedules enclosed to John Gilbert the vth day of August 1586.

CLXXXV.

EPISCOPAL ORDERS, FOR THE EXAMINATION OF MINISTERS IN THE BIBLE AND BULLINGER'S DECADES;[a] ALSO FOR CATECHIZING AND PREACHING.—*December* 2, 1586.

[State Paper[o] Office, Bundle 99, No. 45; "Orders for the Discipline of the Church, Januarie, 1586" (1586-7): Lambeth Registers, Whitgift, I., 131,

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every week study one "Chapter of the Old or New Testament, and render an account of it in Latin; and every quarter of the year shall write one Common Place in Latin; or, if not able, in English." They exist in MSS. Tanner, Bodleian Library, 282, f. 8; and are printed, from a Lincoln Book of Instruments, in Cardwell's Docum. Annals, II. 21.

[a] Though this "Order" has been often printed, yet I think it desirable to give it a place in this Volume. The selection of the DECADES of Bullinger, as the only Examination Text-book, besides the BIBLE, for the inferior Clergy,—and that, by the whole bench of Bishops assembled in Convocation,—is a clear proof that *the Church of England deemed Bullinger's doctrines to be generally in accordance with her own, in the judgment of the Prelates of that day.* In *this* view, Bullinger's fifth Decade on the Sacraments was confidently and successfully brought before the Court of Appeal by the Editor of this volume, in vindication of the doctrinal opinions which he maintained in the cause "*Gorham* v. *Bishop of Exeter*," decided in 1850. (See some extracts from the fifth Decade, above, No. LXXII., p. 249.) These Orders were introduced by Whitgift into the Upper House of Convocation, in its 13th Session, December 2, 1586; they were transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Queen's information (and possibly approval, though it is not recorded) in January, 1587; on the 10th of March, in that year, in the seventh session of the same Convocation by prorogation, the Prolocutor of the Lower House "prayed that they might be read, which was done, and then the Archbishop exhorted the Clergy to do their duty." On, or about the 27th of March, they were registered at Lambeth; in the course of the summer they were transmitted to the several Dioceses; and, in 1588, the Archbishop sent a Circular to the Bishops to inquire strictly how they had been observed. Strype says (Aylmer, p. 83, edit. Oxford, 1824) that the Bishop of London's "pious and painful son, Dr. Theophilus Aylmer, now Archdeacon of London, the 6th of January [1587]" put these Orders into execution. But there is some mistake here: for he was not made Archdeacon of London till 1591.

[o] These Orders were considered of sufficient importance, in the reign of

entry undated, but between March 27th and 29th: Lambeth MSS., 178, f. 64, copy by Mr. Murgatroid, Abp. Whitgift's Secretary: Ely Registers, Cox, f. 317, verso, "sent down by his Lord's G. of Canterburie in August, 1587": MSS. Brit. Mus., Cotton, Cleopatra F. ii., f. 275, an original copy, apparently sent to some bishop, and endorsed[p] "Registratur, fol. 97": Epitome of the Proceedings of Convocation,[q] (from 1586 to 1628,) by Mr. Fisher, Public Notary, formerly in Bp. Tanner's MSS., Bodleian Library, No. 282, ff. 9, and 9 *b*.—These Orders have been printed by Wilkins, Concilia IV. 322 (from Fisher's Epitome of the Convocation Records); Strype, Mem. of Whitgift, III. 194: Records XXXII. (from the Lambeth Reg., *but inaccurately*); see also Whitgift, I. 496: Cardwell, Synodalia II. 562 (reprint of Wilkins).]

Printed literatim from the Lambeth Register.

ORDERS FOR THE BETTER INCREASE OF LEARNINGE IN THE INFERIOR MINISTERS, AND FOR MORE DILIGENT PREACHINGE AND CATHECHISINGE.

1. Everie Minister, havinge cure and beinge vnder the degrees of Master of Arte and Bach. of Lawe, and not licensed to be a publique preacher, shall, before the second daye of Februarie next, provide a BIBLE and BULLINGER'S DECADES[r]

Charles I., for a copy to be made for further security, by Sir Joseph Williamson: it is preserved, with the Original Document, in the State Paper Office.

[p] The Endorsement, in the same hand as the Original, of this cotemporary and clearly official copy, is as follows:—"*Orders for the better increase of learning in the inferior sorte of Ministers, secundo Decembris*, 1586, *not established by Synodall authoritye, but thought convenient to put in execution by Ordinary authoritie, and till further Order shalbe prouided by authoritie of Hir Ma'tiy and the Synode. Registratur* fol. 97."

[q] This Epitome of the Proceedings of Convocation was snatched from the flames in the great fire of 1666, by Miles Smith, a Public Notary to Archbishop Sheldon.

[r] Bullinger's DECADES were translated into English, and printed at London, by Ralph Newberie in 1577, in one volume small 4to., pp. 1142. They were reprinted in 1584. Both these editions have, in the title, an engraving of the Good Shepherd, within an oval label, on which is the inscription, "PERIIT ET INVENTA EST."—Immediately after the adoption of the "Order" to make these DECADES an Examination Text-book for the Clergy, a new edition was put forth in English, also in small 4to.; the title of this third edition is,—"Fiftie godly and learned Sermons, diuided into flue Decades, containing the chiefe and principall points of Christian Religion, written in three severall Formes or Sections, by HENRIE BULLINGER, Minister of the Church of Tigure, in Swicerland. Wherevnto are added certaine Epistles of the same Author concerning the Apparall of Ministers and other indifferent things. With a triple or three-folde Table verie fruitfull and necessarie. Translated out of

in Latin or Englishe, and a paper booke; and shall everie daye reade over one chap're of the Holie Scriptures, and note ye principall contents thereof brieflie in his paper booke; and shall everie weeke reade over one sermon in the said Decades, and note likewise the cheife matters therein conteyned, in the saide paper. And shall once in everie quarter, viz., within a fortnight before or after the ende of the quarter, shewe his said note to some preacher neere adioyning, to be assigned for that purpose.

2. Item. The Bushope, Archdeacon, or other Ordinarie beinge a publique preacher, shall appoint certayne graue and learned

Latine and into English, by H. I., Student in Diuinitie. Imprinted at London, by Ralph Newberie, dwelling in Flete-street, a little aboue the Conduite. Cum gratia et priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, 1587." The Device in this title page is a Lion sitting on an anchor, encircled by the inscription, "DESIR NA REPOS, 1586." Among the various statements made in 1850, to lessen the importance of the DECADES having been "authoritatively taught," it was insinuated that *probably the impression was a very small one*, as the Book "*is now of extreme rarity;*" and that it "could hardly be the case that every one of the thousands of Clergy who, in those unlearned days, had not passed his degree of M.A., had been obliged to procure it." (Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury from the Bishop of Exeter, 1850, 18th edition, p. 41.) The same writer, with much parade of bibliographical research in various libraries, stated that "the only copy he had been able to find is in English, printed in 1577;" and that he was "assured by an excellent authority in such a matter, that no subsequent edition of it was published in England during that century—*none, therefore* [the Italics are his Lordship's], *at the time when the demand for the Book, if his Grace's statement be correct, must have been the greatest.*" (Ibid, p. 41.) The accumulation of blunders in these speculations is almost incredible. Had his Lordship caused inquiry to be made at Cambridge, he would have found in the Public Library there, no fewer than *three* editions of the English Translation of the Decades in ten years; namely, in 1577, in 1584, and in 1587; the last of them being "*at the time when the demand for the Book was greatest*," in consequence of the Bishops' "Order" for it as an Examination Book having just been adopted! It is a curious fact that the publisher, Newberie, gave an anticipatory reply (nearly 300 years ago) to the cavilling conjecture that the supply must have been too small for the numerous clergy who were ordered to procure it;—for he cancelled his first title, and reprinted it with the additions here denoted by Capitals:—"Imprinted at London by Rafe Newberie, dwelling in Flete-street, a little aboue the Conduit, WHO HATH STORE OF THESE BOOKES FOR THOSE THAT WANT BOTH IN LATINE AND ENGLISH."—The Bishop, having discovered the strange blunder into which he had been led, issued a fly leaf (pp. 93, 94) with the 18th Edition of his Letter, to correct it; but fell back on the weak statement that neither the "Preface" nor "the Book," contain "the slightest notice" of the Bishops' "Order"—a fact which does not touch, in any way, the importance of the "Order" itself, as evidence of the doctrine which the Bishops of that day approved.

preachers who shall priuatlie examine the diligence and vewe the notes of the said ministers, assigning sixe or seaven Mi'sters as occac'on shall require to everie such preacher that shal be next adioyning to him, so as the Ministers[a] be not driven to travill for the exhibitinge of their notes above sixe or seaven miles (if it may be). And the said preachers shall by l'res or otherwise truely certifie to the Archdeacon, or other Ordinarie of the place,—themselves being publique preachers and resident within or nere to their jurisdictions, and for want therof to the Bushoppe himself, whoe doe performe the said Exercises—and howe they haue profited therin; and whoe do refuse or neglecte to performe the same; the Archdeacons and others receiving the said Certificats shall signifie the same once in the yeare to the Bushope, and that about Michaelmas.

3. Item. Such as shall refuse to performe the Exercises, or shalbe negligent therin, and shall not, after admonic'on by the Bushoppe, Archdeacon, or other Ordinarie aforsaid, reform himself; if he be beneficed shalbe compelled therunto by ecclesiasticall censures, if he be a Curate shall be inhibited to serve within the Jurisdiction.

4. Item. The Bushopps, Archdeacons, &c., shall carefullie looke that the Ministers seruing cures doe, accordinge to Her Ma'ties Iniunctions, instructe the youth in the Catechisme with addycons set forth by publique author', and such of the Min'ters as by examinacon and triall shalbe found of reasonable abilitie may, by the Archdeacons and Ordinaries being publique preachers as aforsaid, be permitted to expounde standinge in their stalles onlie the print of the said Catechisme, onlie with the addicons, to theire parishioners, vntill they shalbe founde meete to be by the Bushope tolerated or authenticallie licensed to preache.

5. Item. Suche Mrs. of Arte and Bach. of Lawe as haue anye Cure and are note licensed to preache, if within sixe monethes after admonicon to them by the Bushoppe, Arched', or other the said Ordinaries (whose consciences are herein to be burdened), they shall not be lawfullie licensed to preache by the Archbushoppe, or by the Bushoppe of the Dioces, or by one of the

[a] "For the exhibitinge of their notes," omitted in State Paper copy.

Universities, shalbe tyed to the saide Exercises vntill they be founde meete and licensed to be preachers.

6. Item. Everie licensed preacher shall yerelie in propria persona preache twelve Sermons at the least within everie Dioces where his Benefice doth lie [[t] of the w'ch twelve, eight at the least shalbe in his owne Cure. But if the said licensed preacher have two Benefices, then he shall preach eight Sermons at eache of his Benefices euerie yeare at the leaste], and shall yearlie make perticul'r and true certificate therof to the Bushoppe of everie said Dioces betwene Easter and Midsomer, vpon payne to haue their licenses revoked or otherwise to be proceded against for their negligence.

7. Item. The Bushoppe, or the Archdeacon, or other Ordinarie, with the aduise or consent of the Bushoppe, shall appointe sixe or seaven publique preachers to preache by course everie Sundaye in the parishes within a conuenient limite nere adioyning to their habitacon where there is no licensed preacher, soe that there may be in everie such parishe one sermon at the least everie quarter, and the parties charged with the cure of the said parishe shall bear the charges of the dinner and horse meate of the said preacher, and procure some Minister nere adioyninge to his benefice to serve the cure that daye in his absence, unles he haue a Curate of his owne there.

8. It is concluded that the Exercises aboue written and noe other shalbe henceforth publique or priuatly vsed within anie parte of this Province.

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[t] The paragraph—"of the w'ch twelve," down to "yeare at the leaste"—is not found in the State Paper copy.

CLXXXVI.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT'S CIRCULAR TO THE BISHOPS, ON THE ORDERS FOR THE EXAMINATION OF THE CLERGY IN THE BIBLE AND BULLINGER'S DECADES, &c.

LAMBETH, *November* 10, 1588.

[Lambeth Registers, Whitgift, I. 151.—The substance is printed in Strype, Whitgift, I. 531, edit. Oxford, 1822.]

Printed literatim from the Lambeth Registers.

AFTER my right hartie commendacons to your L. Where, secundo Decembris, when we weare assembled in Synode, kept in the year 1586, it was thought fytt and necessarie to me and to the rest of my Brethren then present in that Synode, although not as a Judiciall Acte or Conclusion by the authoritie of the Convocation, that the tenor of the Copie herein enclosed should be put in execution by your L. and all the rest of my said Brethren the Bushoppes of this Province; forasmuch as it is like it wilbe looked for at this next Parliament howe the said Articles have bynne accordinglie used, and likewise howe the Cannons agreed upon by all our consents in the Convocacon, holden the xxiiij daye of November, in the yeare of our Lord 1584, and allowed by the Queene's Maiestie, have bynne observed, whereof I should have had from your L. a Certificate once euerie yeare;—These are hartilie to praye and requier your L. with all spede by your Letters to certifie me howe manie sithence the year 1584 have bynne by your L. admitted either to the Ministerie or to anie benefice or other promotion Ecclesiasticall within yor Dioces; and howe the same persons soe by you admitted are in all respects qualified; and howe manie of them are preachers; and by whom allowed; and generallie howe in all points the said Articles and Canons have bynne put in execution. And although it maie be that your L. for some yeare hath heretofore sent unto me some Certificate, yet I praye

yor L. to spare me from the cure of findinge the same, and to take paynes to certifie me for euerie yeare from the beginninge. And soe expecting your L. speadie answeare, I comitt your L. to God.

From Lambehith, this xth of November, 1588.

ADDENDA.

PAGE 80, NOTE ([t]).

PETER MARTYR'S DISPUTATION ON THE EUCHARIST, AT OXFORD, MAY AND JUNE, 1549.

ALL but cotemporaneously with this Disputation on the EUCHARIST at Oxford, a Disputation was held at Cambridge, before the Royal Visitors, Goodrich Bishop of Ely, Ridley then Bishop of Rochester, Sir William Paget, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, Dr. Mey, and Dr. Wendy the King's Physician, on the Popish dogma of TRANSUBSTANTIATION. On June 20, Dr. Madew denied that dogma; while Glyn, Langdale, Sedgwick, and Young maintained it. (It is given in Foxe, VI., pp. 305—318, edit. London, 8vo., 1846.)—On June 24, Glyn affirmed it; while Grindall, Perne, Guest, and Pilkington opposed. (Foxe, VI., pp. 319—327), and for Grindall's part in it, Grindall's Works, pp. 195—198, edit. Park. Soc., 1843.)—On the third day, Perne denied it, while Parker (not the Archbishop), Pollard, Vavasour, and *Young*, supported it. (Foxe, VI., pp. 327—332.) Bishop Ridley determined the matter. (Foxe, VI., 332—335. Ridley's Works, pp. 171—179, edit. Park. Soc., 1841.) The Thesis was,

"Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture; nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed, by the consents of the ancient fathers for these thousand years past."

PAGE 247, NOTE ([u]), LINE 39.

BULLINGER'S TREATISE ON THE SACRAMENTS.

Bullinger says, in his MS. Diary (preserved in the *Archives of the Church of Zurich*), respecting his "*Absoluta de Christi et ejus Ecclesiæ Sacramentis Tractatio*," *&c.*;—"I wrote [in 1546] a Book on the Sacraments, which I sent in the first instance to D. Calvin, *who found no fault with it, but praised it.*" This must be understood, however, as implying Calvin's *general* approval, with some exceptions to particular passages: for Calvin fully criticised the Book, in a letter, or rather extended Memoir, the original of which is preserved at Zurich (*Coll. Hottinger*, M. *F.* 80, *p.* 338), under the title,—"*Censura Libri Bullingeri De Sacramentis, Genevæ Feb.* 27, 1547." This Review of the

Tract concludes as follows :—"You have thus what in your Book I desire to see corrected, that it may meet with *absolute* approval; I make no note of the parts that merit commendation; I have discharged the office of a friend, by complying with your wishes, and freely advising you, it now remains for you to take my freedom in good part; this I am confident you will do." On the 19th of September, 1547, Calvin again writes to Bullinger :—"It is now six months since I returned your Book [*i.e*, the MS.], with annotations, such as you had requested me to make; I am surprised that I have received no reply from you since that time; when I was in your quarter, you reminded me that there was to be frequent interchange of letters. In the meantime I have heard of several of your towsmen passing through this place; I have had no one going to you, so far as I remember. Should an opportunity of writing be at any time afforded you, I earnestly request you will not allow it to pass, without availing yourself of it." This appeal brought a reply, in which Bullinger appears to have declined to adopt Calvin's suggestions. Five months later (March 1st, 1548,) Calvin again urged him to reconsider the points of difference. "I pass over in silence the long reply in which you seek to wash away all those points of difference about which I had carefully admonished you. For of what avail is it for us to enter on a controversy? I made a note of those points in your book that did not satisfy myself, or that might prove unsatisfactory to others, or such as I thought might not meet the approbation of the pious and learned. I did that at your request. I discharged the duty of a friend; if you think differently, you are at liberty to do so, as far as I am concerned. It would certainly not be the last of my wishes that there should be perfect harmony between us. But in whatever way I may hold the firm persuasion of a greater communication of Christ in the Sacraments than you express in words, we will not, on that account, cease to hold the same Christ, and to be one in Him. Some day, perhaps, it will be given us to write in further harmony of opinion. I have always loved ingenuousness; I take no delight in subtleties, and those who charge others with obscurity, allow me the merit of perspicuity. Neither, accordingly, can I be charged with guile, who never artfully affect anything to gain the favour of men; and my method of instruction is too simple to admit of any unfavourable suspicion, and too detailed to offend on the ground of obscurity. Wherefore, if I do not give uniform satisfaction, indulgence must be extended to me because I study in good faith, and with perfect candour, openly to declare what I have to say. It was on this account that lately, when at Bâle, I felt surprised at your complaint, as a friend reported to me, that I taught differently in my Commentaries from what I had held out to you. I replied in one sentence, which was the truth, that I used the same language at Zurich as at Geneva. I was, however, disposed to attribute the whole statement, be it what it might, to the mistake of my informant. At a time when it was dangerous for me to declare in language what views I held, I did not turn aside from the straight line by foregoing the free and firm announcement of my opinions in every particular, even so far as to bend the most rigid to some sort of moderation. Why then should I now, without any necessity, change at once my general mode of procedure and my convictions? If, however, I fail in persuading men of the truth of this, I shall be content to have God as the witness of my confession." To this Bullinger replied (May 26, 1548), adhering to the expressions objected to by Calvin: see the Letter, above, p. 47.—Calvin replied to this, somewhat touchily, but in a

very valuable letter, (June 26, 1548,) which see above, p. 48; trusting that they might before long come to an agreement. Bullinger rejoined, unshaken in his opinion, December 6, 1548; see his letter above, p. 72. On 21st January, 1549,[a] Calvin thus replied to his friend:—"I at length received your former letter, which I thought had been destroyed, three days before the latter of the two reached me. For when the person who married the other sister sought Hooper's letter from his companion, observing another small packet, he immediately laid hands on it. His companion, either from modesty, or from some cause I know not what, did not dare to take it from him. I have read your Annotations, from which I have discovered what you regard as wanting in my method of treating the subject. I have endeavoured briefly to satisfy you, because the matter itself did not demand a long discourse. I shall know how far I have succeeded in this when I have received your reply. I may at least, on good grounds, wish to obtain this of you, viz., that you will not allow yourself to become entangled in baseless suspicions. For I observe that, owing to this cause, you are perplexed in regard to many points which present difficulty, simply because you put upon the majority of my statements a different construction from what you have any ground for doing. A preconceived opinion regarding me leads you to imagine and attribute to me what never occurred to my mind. Besides, while you are concerned to maintain your own opinions, whatever they may be, to the very last, you sometimes consider more what is in harmony with them than what is the truth on the subject. If simplicity pleases you, I certainly take no delight in disguise and circumlocution. If you love a free declaration of the truth, I never had any mind to bend what I wrote, so as to receive its acceptance with men. If there be any who have flattered Luther and others, I am not of that number. Our most excellent Musculus knows that, even when wise men were in fear, I was always free [from apprehension]. But, had it not been for the obstacle of an unprofitable distrust, there would by this time have been no controversy between us, or none to speak of. Although, however, I differ from you in opinion, that does not imply the least severance of affection; just as I cultivate the friendship of Bucer, and yet am free to dissent occasionally from his views. You are accordingly too severe in saying in your letter that the matter can only go well provided you understand that you are not regarded as our enemies. On what grounds you form that surmise, I know not. This indeed I know, that I both think and speak of you in a friendly spirit. This, moreover, is known to very many who have heard me speak. It may, indeed, be that I have found fault with you in private letters to my friends, or that I have not concealed my conviction that what they censured was deserving of reprehension. There was always, however, such an admixture of praise, as qualified any bitterness, and afforded proof of good intentions."

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[a] This Latin letter is preserved in the archives at Zurich, Gest. VI. 166, p. 19; and is printed in Calvin's Letters, translated, Vol. II., p. 196, 8vo., Edinburgh, 1857.

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